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1603-1642

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FROM THE

ACCESSION OF JAMES I.

TO

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

1603–1642

BY

SAMUEL R. GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

ETC.

IN TEN VOLUMES

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1641–1642

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER C.

THE FORMATION OF PARTIES.

As the first result of the King's departure the Root-and-Branch Bill was tacitly dropped.[1] It was no time to rouse party feeling, and there was no hope that, even if the Bill could be got through the Lords, it would receive the Royal assent. The energies of the Houses were directed to the provision of money, in order that both armies might be got rid of as soon as possible. It had been arranged that the Scots were to receive 80,000*l.* of the Brotherly Assistance immediately, and that on August 25 they should cross the Tweed. September 7 was set apart as a day of public thanksgiving for the conclusion of peace.[2]

1641. Aug. 10. The Root-and-Branch Bill dropped.

Aug. 12. The armies to be got rid of.

Parliament was anxious to keep the Scots in good humour. It was also anxious to keep a watch on the movements of the King. It was resolved that Parliamentary Commissioners should follow him to Scotland, nominally to see to the execution of the treaty, but in reality to see that Charles was not playing tricks. So suspicious were the Commons that they took no notice of the King's offer to issue a general pardon. They were afraid lest it might be interpreted as shielding Finch and

Parliamentary Commissioners to attend the King.

General pardon put aside.

[1] On the 12th there was an order to go into committee on it on the 16th, but it was not acted on.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 253.

Windebank, Percy and Jermyn, from the merited punishment which would fall on them if they returned to England.[1] They rather determined to deter the officers in the North from joining the King in any fresh scheme of violence, by declaring Suckling, Percy, and Jermyn to have been guilty of treason.[2] They again directed the preparation of the Remonstrance of the state of the Church and Kingdom. They would appeal to the people against the King. Nothing, however, was done in this direction for the present. Perhaps it was felt that the time needed more active measures. On the 13th Captain Chudleigh, who had served as intermediary between Suckling and the troops in the first Army Plot, was examined at length, and deposed that he had been informed that a thousand horse were to be maintained by the clergy in support of the design.[3] That such a plan should have been talked of in March was enough to increase the alarm of those who heard of it in August. On the 14th a committee—the Committee of Defence, as it was called—was appointed to direct the attention of the Lords to the state of the Tower and other fortresses, 'and to take into consideration what power will be fit to be placed, and in what persons, for commanding of the trained bands and ammunition of the kingdom.' The future Militia Bill was already foreshadowed in these terms of reference. Falkland and Culpepper sat on this committee by the side of Pym and the younger Vane. There was an Episcopalian party in the House, but there was no Royalist party as yet.[4]

Aug. 13.

August 14. A Committee of Defence.

All ears were open for tidings from the North. Some weeks before, Holland had been appointed Lord General in Northumberland's room, and had been sent down to Yorkshire to take measures for the disbandment of the army. It has been said that he was out of temper with

Holland in the North.

[1] Giustinian to the Doge, Aug. $\frac{13}{23}$, *Ven. Transcripts*. *L. J.* iv. 365.

[2] Moore's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* cccclxxix. fol. 148 b.

[3] Bishop Hall denies that the clergy had any such project; but it does not follow that it was not suggested by Suckling or Jermyn.—*Letter to W W.* (E. 158).

[4] *C. J.* ii. 257.

the Court in consequence of the refusal of the King to grant him the nomination of a new baron, which would have placed a few thousand pounds in his pocket.[1] On the 16th an enigmatical letter written by him to Essex, in which the existence of danger was not obscurely hinted at, was read in both Houses.[2] The immediate result was a report from the Committee of Defence, recommending that 'some authority should be given to some person, in the absence of the King, to put the kingdom in a state of defence.'

Aug. 16. Reading of a letter from him.

Report from the Committee of Defence.

Charles, in short, had left England without a recognised Government. The Elector Palatine, Lennox, and Hamilton had alone accompanied him on his journey. The Privy Council, with all its varied elements, had none of Charles's confidence, and was utterly incapable of acting with decision in any one direction. A body of commissioners, indeed, had a limited authority to pass certain Bills, but there was not even a Secretary of State to carry out the King's orders, as Vane joined the King in Scotland not long after his arrival. One of the clerks of the Council, Edward Nicholas, a diligent and faithful servant, remained behind, with orders to forward news to Edinburgh, and to carry out any instructions that he might receive; but he was in no position to command authority. The Queen, having conducted her mother to the sea-coast on her way to the Continent, had returned to Oatlands, angrily brooding over her fallen fortunes. She declared that, unless times changed, she would remain in England no longer.[3]

No government in England.

Before the end of the day on which Holland's letter was read, a suggestion was made in the House of Commons, which led to a far more daring innovation on established usage than anything that had yet been done. A difficulty had arisen in procuring formal authority for the Parliamentary Commissioners who were to

Suggestion that Parliament can issue ordinances.

[1] *Clarendon*, iv. 2.

[2] *The Lord of Holland's Letter from York*, 1621, 100.

[3] Giustinian to the Doge, Aug. $\frac{20}{30}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

proceed to Edinburgh nominally to treat with the Scottish Parliament. The Lord Keeper was asked to pass their commission under the Great Seal. This Lyttelton positively refused to do without directions from the King. A proposal was made to order him to do it. D'Ewes—who earlier in the session had discovered that, though it was immoral and irreligious to pay interest, it was perfectly innocuous to pay damages—now informed the Commons that, though the Houses could not make the order which was proposed, 'an ordinance of the two Houses in Parliament' had always been of great authority; and he then cited from the Rolls of Parliament an ordinance of the year 1373.[1] It is true that the citation had no bearing whatever on the point in question, as the ordinance of 1373 had been made by the King, though it had been announced to Parliament in answer to a petition of the Commons.[2]

The House caught at the idea, and the first ordinance of the Long Parliament was sent up to the Lords. On the 20th the Lords adopted it. From henceforth the term 'ordinance' would be taken to signify, not, as it had done in the Middle Ages, a declaration made by the King without the necessary concurrence of Parliament, but a declaration of the two Houses without the necessary concurrence of the King.[3]

Aug. 20. The first ordinance.

As far as this first ordinance was concerned, the assumption of authority by Parliament was not very outrageous. It conveyed to Bedford and Howard of Escrick, in the name of the Lords, to Fiennes, Armyn, Stapleton, and Hampden, in the name of the Commons, authority to attend his Majesty in Scotland, in order to present to him the humble desires of the two Houses according to certain annexed instructions. Parliament did no more than appoint a com-

Its character.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 32 b.

[2] It was 'faire en mesme le Parlement,' which perhaps led D'Ewes astray, but it was on the petition of the Commons, and the last clause begins 'Mes voet le Roi.'—*Rolls of Parl.* ii. 310.

[3] Professor Stubbs, to whom I naturally applied on the subject, informs me that he is unable to recollect any case in the Middle Ages in which ordinances were made by the two Houses without the Royal authority.

mittee to reside in Scotland, instead of appointing one to meet at Westminster; but the idea that the Houses could act alone, when it had once been thrown before the world was certain to gather strength. It would not be long before the House would grasp the reins of executive government which the King had dropped in his pursuit of military support.[1] Practically, indeed, this had been already done. The Houses shrank from ordering the Lord Keeper to set the Great Seal to a commission, but they had not shrunk from ordering Holland to secure Hull and that store of munitions which had been gathered there to supply the army in the last war, or from ordering Newport, the Constable of the Tower, to take up his residence in that fortress, and to see that it was safely guarded.[2]

Aug. 17. Hull to be secured,

Aug. 18. and the Tower.

That these measures were taken against the King there can be no reasonable doubt. They were the same in kind as those which brought about the Civil War in the following year. Yet they passed both Houses without the faintest opposition.

The excited feeling of apprehension which had given birth to these measures, did not last long. It was soon known that the King had passed through both armies without causing any stir amongst them. At Newcastle he had been magnificently entertained by the Scottish commanders, had reviewed their troops and had expressed his high satisfaction at their military bearing. To Leslie he was especially courteous, and he promised an earldom to the rough soldier of fortune.[3] It was not on an immediate military revolt that Charles was calculating. He knew that he must satisfy the Scottish Parliament before those sturdy peasants would draw sword in his cause.

Aug. 13 The King at Newcastle.

On the 14th Charles rode into Edinburgh. On his first visit to the Parliament he offered to touch with the sceptre, and so to convert into law, all the Acts which he had so long resisted, and was somewhat disappointed to find that at least a show of more mature consideration was

Aug. 14. He arrives at Edinburgh.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 372. [2] *Ibid.* 367, 369.
[3] Vane to Nicholas, Aug. 14, *Nicholas MSS.*

required by formality.[1] Before many days passed he was allowed to perform this part of his work with as cheerful a countenance as he was able to assume. Now that the Scots had all that they wanted, he might expect something from them in return. One man, on whom he had counted, was no longer able to render him any aid. Rothes died in England on the 23rd.[2] Still Charles wrote to the Queen in high spirits. Everything appeared to him to be going well. Leslie's professions of service had been all that could be desired.[3] For the first time in his life Charles laid himself out to win the affections of the people. He diligently attended the Presbyterian service, and listened without wincing to Presbyterian sermons. Henderson was as constantly at his side as Laud had been in the days of his power.[4] It was much in Charles's favour that his coming had been coincident with the termination of military effort. "This kingdom," wrote Vane, "speaks of nothing with so much heartiness as of the blessedness of this peace and of the joy and comfort thereof!" The English army was at last slowly disbanding—as quickly, at least, as money could be furnished. The Scottish army broke up from Durham and Newcastle. On the 25th Leslie re-crossed the Tweed. The northern counties were glad to see the last of the hungry strangers, who had quartered themselves on them so long. The Scots, too, were glad to be on the tramp for home. It was, indeed, proposed that a force of 4,000 foot and 500 horse should be kept under arms till the English troops were entirely paid off, and Charles found grounds for believing that a still larger force would be placed at his disposal. He wrote to the Queen that the Scots had resolved to maintain in his service 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, to be used wherever he

Aug. 17. Ratifies the Acts.

Aug. 23. Death of Rothes.

Confidence of Charles.

The English army begins to break up.

Aug. 25.

Charles's hopes of military assistance.

[1] The Elector Palatine to the Queen of Bohemia, Aug. 17, *Forster MSS.*

[2] Nicholas to Vane, Aug. 24, *Nicholas MSS.*

[3] Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Aug. } 27}{\text{Sept. } 6}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

[4] Vane to Nicholas, Aug. 23, *Nicholas MSS.*

wished, and against any enemies that he might choose. If these were not enough he should have more. Charles added that he had gained over, by assurances of office and promotion, those who had been his bitterest enemies. "This," he wrote, "will be enough to dispose them to support my interests with all their power, and to make them depend on me without exception."[1]

Charles's negotiations with the Irish Catholics.

Charles's hope of support from the Scottish Presbyterians was accompanied by a continuance of his hope of support from the Irish Catholics. Twice had messengers crossed the sea with communications from the King to Ormond and Antrim, the one of them a Protestant royalist of Strafford's school, the other a weak and inefficient Catholic peer. These two were to gather into one body the Irish army which was being disbanded, and to seize Dublin Castle in the King's name by the authority of the Irish Parliament, in order to make it a basis of operations against the Parliament at Westminster. The Irish Catholics, it was hoped, would be easily won to the royal cause by the grant of religious liberty.[2]

[1] The King's letters to the Queen have been lost, but Giustinian reports of this one that it stated that the men were to be offered to Charles 'da valersene dove e contro chi troverà più aggiustare la propria convenienza con una generale eshibitione in appresso di prontamente somministrarle quel numero di gente maggiore che l'occasione ricercasse.'—Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Aug. } 27}{\text{Sept. } 6}$, *Ven. Transcripts*, *R. O.* Giustinian was on good terms with the Queen.

[2] The evidence for this has hitherto been a statement made by Antrim in 1650, printed in Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, App. xlix. The King is there said to have sent two messages: the one whilst the Irish Parliament was sitting, that is to say, between May 11 and Aug. 7; the second when he was at York, or about Aug. 12. The chief difficulty in accepting the story has been the occurrence of Ormond's name in it. There seems, however, to have been an impression amongst the Irish after the rebellion that he ought to have been on their side. The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* (i. 12) says that 'my Lord of Ormond, though then a Protestant, was one of seventy-eight persons sworn to secure each his town or fort,' and he afterwards (ii. 21) speaks of him as a traitor to the Irish cause, 'unmindful of his sworn covenant, and ungrateful to His Royal Majesty.' It will be seen that there is evidence of a third message sent from Scotland. Ormond may have been willing to support the King's authority against the

Of this wonderful scheme Charles's most faithful servants in England knew absolutely nothing. The confidential letters which he received from Nicholas pointed to a very different course of action. Let the King do all in his power to hasten the disbandment of the armies. By this he would make it evident that he had no intention of trusting to the employment of military force.[1] Nicholas understood that the only path of safety for Charles lay in gaining the sympathies of his English subjects.

Aug. 23. Advice of Nicholas.

Even in England there were symptoms that the tide of feeling, which had been running so strongly against Charles, was on the turn. Nothing was generally known of the wild projects which he had carried with him on his northern journey. What was known was that he had passed through both armies without appealing to them for

Possibility of a reaction in England.

English Puritans, and to accept religious toleration for the Irish Catholics. He never looked favourably on the cruelties exercised on them after the rebellion. As to the negotiation in general, it is placed beyond doubt by Rossetti's survey of the whole affair. The King, he says, had met with universal disobedience in England and Scotland. "L'Hibernia sola pareva che godesse qualche riposo, e per esser numerosa de' Cattolici si mostrava per conseguenza più fedele à S. Mtà. Vedendo dunque il Rè lo stato nel quale si trovava, si risolse di far il matrimonio col Principe d' Oranges, di dove sperava haver aiuti di danari, et di gente, con valersi de' Cattolici, de' Protestanti, e di qualunque altro che industriosamente havesse potuto guadagnare al suo partito. Gli fu insinuato che l'Hibernia, come più Cattolica, e conseguentemente fedele, l'havrebbe servito, et in caso d'avvantaggio della Religion Cattolica, poteva egli similmente sperare altri aiuti, et all' hora furono introdotti i maneggi della libertà di conscienza, et anco dell' istessa sua conversione. Si applicò a quella, et a questa si voleva tempo a deliberare. Per tanto si cominciò a pensare all' Hibernia, si che sotto altri pretesti, vennero di là deputati, e secretamente si negotiò di permettere à loro la libertà di conscienza, quando fedelmente havessero voluto aderire al partito di S. Mtà. Rappresento ciò di certo a V. Emza, perche la Regina degnò di dirmelo, e più volte mi fu affirmato dal Padre Filippo, onde si proseguirono i trattati con diverse conditioni, parte delle quali non mi sono distintamente note, poiche solo s'appartenevano al Rè, cioè di dar loro alcuni magazini e commodità, ma ho ben certezza di questa, che era la permissione della libertà di conscienza."—Rossetti to Barberini, $\frac{\text{Jan. 23}}{\text{Feb. 2}}$, 1642, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[1] Nicholas to the King, Aug. 23, *Evelyn's Memoirs*, ii. Part ii. 4.

assistance. The natural result was that those of the Parliamentary leaders who had learned enough to predict evil were looked on as scared alarmists, who might have been trying to trouble the waters for their own ambitious ends. Other causes came to weigh in the balance against them. Never within the memory of man had the country been called on to bear such a pressure of taxation. Six subsidies had never before been granted in a single session, and after the six subsidies had come the poll-tax, the amount of which would not be far short of six subsidies more. The whole may perhaps be estimated at somewhere about 800,000*l.* Payments were slowly and reluctantly made. That mere reluctance to meet taxation which had done so much to support the opponents of the King in the days of ship-money, had shifted round to the King's side now. There was a longing for peace, for a cessation of strife at home and abroad. On the 30th it was known in London that the Scots had really evacuated the northern counties. The news was received with a hearty feeling of relief. His Majesty, it seemed, had been maligned. He had no intention of leading the Scottish army to dissolve his English Parliament and to enable him to pronounce its past legislation null and void.[1]

Great weight of taxation.

Aug. 30. The Scots' departure known in London.

Of this change of feeling Charles was unable to take advantage. He was far away, scheming how to use that very violence which would make him most detestable to his subjects. He was not even present to keep up that show of authority which might one day be converted into real power. The Houses were accustoming themselves to the issue of ordinances. On the 24th there was one directing certain counties to send their poll

Effects of Charles's absence.

Aug. 24. More ordinances.

[1] As Giustinian puts it, the citizens abandoned their jealousy that the King was trying to persuade the Scots 'a secondare il corso delli generosi proponimenti che universalmente si crede portare nel petto la Maestà sua di scuoter cioè il giogo delle nuove leggi, et la continuatione di questo Parlamento in particolare, la qual gli toglie gli ornamenti del comando, et della esistimatione intieramente.'—Giustinian to the Doge, Sept. $\frac{3}{13}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

money direct to the Earl of Holland. On the 27th another appointed a day of thanksgiving for the peace. On the 30th yet another ordered a general disarmament of recusants. If Charles's language can be trusted he was more annoyed at the interference of Parliament with a permission which he had given to the Spanish ambassador to transport abroad 4,000 men of the Irish army, which was at last being broken up. The Commons insisted that it was unfitting to lend help to Spain against the Portuguese ; and, to keep the balance even, they refused a similar permission to the French ambassador. Two months later they would have been glad enough to know that these trained soldiers were not in Ireland ; but the motive of their refusal, in the face of their own obvious interest, deserves the highest respect.[1]

Aug. 27.
Aug. 30.
The Irish levies for Spain refused.

By this time a speedy adjournment had become an absolute necessity. The plague and the small-pox were raging in London and Westminster, and even the most earnest of members was thoroughly weary of the long and exciting work in which the House had been engaged. Most of the members, indeed, had already gone home without asking leave. About a dozen peers remained to represent the House of Lords, whilst some eighty remained constant to the call of duty in the Commons.[2] On the 28th, when all danger appeared to be at an end in the North, it was arranged that the House should adjourn on September 8, to meet again on October 20.

Aug. 28.
An adjournment voted.

The day on which the adjournment was voted was indeed memorable in English history. It was the last time when the two parties into which the House of Commons was divided loyally co-operated with one another. Whatever had been done so far by the Long Parliament stood the test of time. The overthrow of the special courts, by which the prerogative had been defended under the Tudors and the first two Stuarts, together with the abandon-

End of unanimity in the Commons.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 381.

[2] Giustinian to the Doge, Sept. $\frac{3}{13}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

ment by the King of all claim to raise taxes without the consent of Parliament, was accepted as the starting-point of the restored monarchical constitution in 1660. That the King and the Houses must from thenceforward work together, instead of working in antagonism, was the doctrine of Hyde and Falkland as well as of Pym and Hampden. The theory of Strafford, that in cases of necessity, of the existence of which the King was the sole judge, he could act in defiance of Parliament, was without a single supporter. Yet from that moment of apparent unanimity dated the beginning of embittered strife. The war of tongues which ensued preceded but for a few short months the war of the sword. Laboriously, in the face of an angry and compact Opposition, the victorious party strove to embody its views in institutions which would last. It was all in vain. The ropes twisted of sand which were to bind the English people dropped into nothingness before the general resistance.

Beginning of strife.

Naturally historians have wearied themselves to find the key of this riddle. Was it, as has been said, that the leaders of the majority were too impatient, that they were in a hurry to obtain absolute control over the government, and that they did not give time to allow the results of the recent concessions to develop themselves peacefully? Was it that the leaders of the minority thought that enough had been done in the way of reform, and that Charles could be trusted to carry on the government constitutionally under changed conditions? Those who have studied the Parliamentary debates of the first fortnight after the commencement of the King's northern journey will be slow to adopt either of these conclusions. The men of one party were as ready as the men of the other to put pressure upon the Sovereign, to make preparations for securing the fortresses of the kingdom and for placing the military forces of the country in readiness for action at the bidding of the Houses. If no question other than the constitutional one had been at issue, or if the danger from Scotland had been a little more evident and had lasted a little longer, Lords and Commons would have passed with complete unanimity

What was the root of the mischief?

Unanimity in face of the constitutional question.

such a Militia Bill as that which was but the triumph of a party six months later, as surely as they had already concurred in supporting Pym's proposal for the substitution of counsellors approved by Parliament for counsellors selected by the King The history of the next few years would, if the King had not yielded entirely, have resembled that of 1688. Charles would have been swept away by the uprising of a united people. There would have been no Civil War, because the courtiers, who would alone have stood by the King, would not have been sufficiently numerous to wage war against the nation.

The rock of offence lay in the proposed ecclesiastical legislation of Parliament. It was not in the nature of things that religious questions should be allowed to slumber. For the mass of Englishmen, religious belief was their only intellectual food, as religious books were their only literature. There were thousands for whom legal and constitutional arguments had but little attraction, who could throw their whole souls into an argument about Presbyterianism or Episcopacy, or about the comparative merits of various forms of worship. A great part of the intellect of the day had been occupied with these very subjects, and Laud and Williams, Milton and Chillingworth, had no peers amongst the writers of literary prose. The peculiarity of this ecclesiastical literature was that it was controversial in its nature. When its successful defence against Rome was over, the innate vigour of Protestantism showed itself in its variations. Free inquiry, rejected in theory by almost all Englishmen, silently pushed its way, and there was scarcely a possible form of Church worship or government which some Englishmen were not ready to defend. Under the most favourable circumstances the difficulty of moulding the ecclesiastical institutions so as to meet the new wants of the time would have required the most consummate prudence. The traditional belief of centuries, held alike by the zealot and the politician, was that religious liberty was but another name for anarchy, and that it was the duty of the State to see that no man was allowed to teach or to worship as seemed right in his own eyes. The difficulty would have been great in any circumstances, but it had been enormously

The religious difficulty.

increased by recent events. Laud's unwise attempt to suppress Puritanism had recoiled on himself, and through him on the nation. The more extreme Puritans were maddened with resentment, and regarded the attack upon the bishops and the Prayer Book as a holy work. Power, they thought, had at last been placed in their hands for the destruction of an ungodly and anti-Christian idolatry. Those from whose moderation much might at other times have been expected could hardly be moderate now. They found themselves face to face with ecclesiastical usages which they detested, and which had recently been imposed on them with the harshest rigour. Was it possible that they should take into consideration religious feelings which they were unable to comprehend, and grant religious liberty to practices which had been as a yoke upon their own necks in the days of the Laudian ascendency? Social antagonisms were already prepared to embitter the religious conflict. The greater part of the nobility and gentry of England were inclined to look with contempt and loathing upon the claims of yeomen and handicraftsmen to throw off the yoke of authority, whilst the yeomen and handicraftsmen were well pleased to vindicate their independence against the upper classes on the ground of theology, in which they imagined themselves to be masters.

Difficult as it was to find a solution for the questions which arose, it was impossible to leave them unsettled. The Church was falling into anarchy, and its services were being moulded by the hazard of the moment at the will of the strongest. Some law must be laid down, some rule to which all would be bound to conform, whether it were a law maintaining enforced uniformity, or a law in protection of liberty.

Need of a strong Government.

If ever a firm hand was needed to take the reins of government, it was at this crisis, when there had ceased to be any Government at all. What was wanted was a calm and statesmanlike mind ready to listen to all claims, and to strike the balance between opposing forces. Charles, if he had had the power, had never had the capacity for such work as this. If it was to be done at all, it must be done by Parliament; and a Parliament, as had been shown in the days of Elizabeth, was less likely than a single mind to do

such work worthily. It was more apt to mistake the voice of the majority for the voice of the nation, and less apt to remember that a large minority requires consideration from the mere fact of its existence. That tradition of compromise which is the inheritance of English cabinets had not yet been formed in the days when cabinets were unknown. To make the Church really national, to give within it free play for the religious thought and life which was not too exuberant for its decorum, and to leave room outside for the growth of societies for which even its silken fetters were too oppressive, was the task which the time required. It was the last of which the predominant party was likely to think—it is but fair to add, was the last of which it could be expected to think.

The announcement of the day of adjournment was followed by a feeling of regret in the majority of the Commons, that they should separate without having done anything for religion. It was resolved at least to put an end to Laud's innovations. It was determined that the communion-tables should be removed from the east end of the churches, and the raiis taken down ; that 'all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary' should be 'taken away,' and 'all tapers, candlesticks, and basins be removed from the communion-table ;' that 'all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus, or towards the east end of the church, or towards the communion table be henceforth forborne ;' that all dancing and sports be forborne on the Lord's Day, and the preaching of sermons be permitted in the afternoon.[1]

Sept. 1. Resolutions on ecclesiastical innovations.

If no more than this had been proposed the scheme might have received, if not unanimous support, at least the support of a very considerable majority, in which many of the defenders of Episcopacy would have voted. The waters, however, had been too deeply stirred by the winds of religious controversy to be calmed so easily. A member suggested that it would be well to think of some alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.[2] Culpepper at

Proposal for altering the Prayer Book.

Culpepper's motion.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 279. [2] *Diurnal Occurrences*, Sept. 1.

once called on the House to provide a remedy against 'such as did vilify and contemn the Common Prayer Book . . . or else he feared it might be the occasion of many tumults in Church and State.' From that moment the party lines were strictly drawn. Behind the controversy on Episcopacy and Presbyterianism lay the controversy on forms of worship—a controversy which came home to every man who cared about religion at all. The attack upon the Prayer Book by the unnamed member was the commencement of the Civil War. There was now a possibility that Charles might find a party not only in Parliament but in the nation.

Final formation of two parties.

In vain Cromwell urged that there were passages in the Prayer Book to which grave and learned divines could not submit. The house was thin, as it had long been, and this day Culpepper had a majority of 18 in a House of 92.

Culpepper's temporary success.

On the 6th Culpepper's resolution came up for further discussion. Pym and his supporters were anxious to confine the censure of the House to those who interfered with the existing service by creating actual disturbance in a church. Culpepper wished to extend it to all who 'depraved' or openly found fault with the Prayer Book, and he again carried his point; but when the final vote was taken, some of his friends held back, and the clause was ordered to be recommitted for further consideration.[1]

Sept. 6. The question postponed.

On the 8th the Lords agreed to the resolution on the removal of the communion-table, but wished that, for the sake of decency, it should still be surrounded with rails in its new position, at least in those churches in which it had been railed in at the east end.[2] Images of the Virgin which had been erected more than twenty years were to be allowed to stand, and everyone was to be left free to do as he pleased in the matter of bowing. The clause on the Lord's

Sept. 8. The Lords' amendments.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 82 b, 83, 84, 89.

[2] The cases of persons putting their hats on the table are well known. In a sermon preached in little more than a month after this date, there is mention of a woman who put her baby on the communion-table, with consequences that may easily be imagined.

day was left for consideration on the 9th, the adjournment having been postponed till that day.

Whilst the Lords were thus busy, the Commons took another forward step. They declared it to be lawful for all parishes to set up lecturers at their own charge, and there was no sign that they meant to consult the Lords on this important declaration.[1] It is probable that the Peers took offence at the neglect. On the 9th they laid aside the resolutions of the Commons.[2] In a house of twenty it was carried by a majority of eleven to nine, that an order of the 16th of January should be printed and published, to the effect 'that the divine service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this Realm; and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished according to law; and that all parsons, vicars, and curates in their several parishes shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies otherwise than those that are established by the laws of this land.' The Lords not only passed this order, but they refused to communicate their resolution to the Commons. Against this latter resolve six peers—Bedford, Warwick, Clare, Newport, Wharton, and Mandeville—protested. Lyttelton, Manchester, and Hunsdon voted in the minority, but did not protest.[3]

Order on lecturers.

Sept. 9. Order of the Lords that service be performed according to law.

Protest of six peers.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 283.

[2] In Dover's *Notes*, where the affair is misdated as Aug. 10 (*Clarendon MSS.* 1603), we are told that 'our reasons for proceeding in this manner, before we advised with the House of Commons, was that the very night before they had in their House ordered that very order which is now set forth by them, to be published and printed before they had a conference with us. Query, whether the House of Commons have power of themselves to enjoin the whole kingdom anything which is not settled by the laws?' Dover was clearly mistaken in saying that the Commons published their order about innovations before the division in the Lords. Probably the truth is as I have put it in the text, though there is no actual direction in the *Journals* to print the order about lecturers.

[3] *L. J.* iv. 395. The names of the eleven who formed the majority are given in Dover's *Notes* as Bishop Williams, the Earls of Denbigh, Cleveland, Portland, Dover, Kingston, and Barons Mowbray, Wentworth, Dunsmore, Coventry, and Capel. The names are given somewhat differ-

As might have been expected, the Commons in their turn took offence. D'Ewes said that it was not a fit time to print such an order, 'when all men who loved the truth expected a mitigation of the laws already established touching religion, and not a severe execution of them.' Yet it was hard to know what was to be done. Pym suggested that a messenger should be despatched to ask the King to revoke the Lords' order by proclamation.[1] The House probably felt that this would not be a hopeful course. It was finally resolved that its own resolutions should be published together with the order of the Lords. A commentary was to be affixed, expressing surprise at the thinness of the Upper House when so important a decision had been arrived at. 'So it may still be hoped, when both Houses shall meet again, that the good propositions and preparations in the House of Commons, for preventing the like grievances, and reforming other disorders and abuse in matters of religion, may be brought to perfection.' 'Wherefore,' they ended by saying, 'we expect that the commons of the realm, do, in the meantime, quietly attend the reformation intended, without any tumultuous disturbance of the worship of God and the peace of the kingdom.'[2]

Feeling in the Commons.

Both the resolutions and the order to be published.

The Commons appeal to patience.

The printing of this declaration was carried without a division. Nothing could have been more conciliatory than the last paragraph. The warning to submit to the law without impatience till Parliament was again in session was conceived in the best spirit of both parties.

For all that, the danger was postponed, not averted. The call to abide by the law which had sounded forth from the House of Lords would be sure to find a response in the nation, if it were coupled with a firm resolve to search out the defects of the existing law, in order to bring it into conformity with the new facts which had arisen

The Lords appeal to the law.

ently in the *Diurnal Occurrences*. Lord Hunsdon was Dover's eldest son, who had been raised to a peerage in his father's lifetime.

[1] This is noteworthy, as showing that Pym did not yet despair of Charles's co-operation.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 287. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 110

since the law had been made. Otherwise the appeal was no more than a fair show covering the passions of a party.

For the time interest was diverted to the North. On the 9th both Houses brought their sittings to an end, and most of the few members who had been constant to the last were allowed to enjoy a brief and well-earned rest.[1] Each House, however, left behind it a Committee charged to watch the progress of affairs, and to correspond with the Joint Committee which had been ordered to attend the King. That Committee, with the exception of the new Earl of Bedford, who was a less energetic man than his father had been, and who declined to make the journey, had arrived in Edinburgh on August 30. Its leading spirits were Hampden and Fiennes. The King refused to give to its members any authority to treat with the Scottish Parliament, but he could not hinder them from remaining in Scotland to keep watch over his own proceedings.[2]

Adjournment of the Houses.

The committees to sit in the recess.

Aug. 30. The Committee in Edinburgh.

To all appearance Charles had at last succeeded in winning the hearts of his Northern subjects. On the day of the arrival of the English Committee, he was entertained at a magnificent banquet in the Parliament House. The Lord Provost drank the health of the King and Queen with the heartiest expressions of loyal devotion. "Over the whole town," wrote an Englishman who was present, "there was nothing but joy and revelling, like a day of jubilee, and this is taken of the union which doubtless is more firm by reason of the happy intervention of the unity of form of religion, at least for the present, and in the King's own practice, which wins much upon this people. Yesterday his Majesty was again at the great Church at sermon, where the bishops were not spared, but such downright language as would a year ago have [3] been at the least a Star Chamber business, imputing all that was amiss to ill coun-

The feast in the Parliament House.

[1] It is customary to speak of the period ending here as the first session of the Long Parliament. The term, though convenient, is inaccurate, as there was no prorogation.

[2] The King to Lyttelton, Aug. 25, *L. J.* iv. 382.

[3] The word "have" is omitted in the MS.

sellors, and so ingratiating His Majesty with all his people, who indeed show a zeal and affection beyond all expression."[1]

It is easy to conjecture what were the thoughts which arose in Hampden's mind as he looked for the first time on the fair town in the new-found loyalty which had been bought by so great and so suspicious a self-surrender. Charles was in the highest spirits. "You may assure everyone," he wrote to Nicholas, "that now all difficulties are passed here." He was not long in discovering that he had been too sanguine. In Parliament Argyle was relentless in demanding that no political or judicial offices should be filled up without the approval of Parliament, and Argyle's supporters were in a clear majority in the House. He was not indeed all-powerful. There were many amongst the nobility, besides the imprisoned Montrose, who struggled hard against this new constitutional system, in which a majority of country gentlemen and burghers was to be welded, in the hands of one popular nobleman, into a political force to beat down the power of the great families. They had never intended to throw off the yoke of Charles in order to become the servants of Argyle. "If this be what you call liberty," said the Earl of Perth, "God send me the old slavery again."[2] Charles might choose his own side. He might put himself at the head of the popular party or of the aristocratic party. It needed more decision than he possessed to do either with effect. "His Majesty's businesses," wrote Endymion Porter, "run in their wonted channel—subtile designs of gaining the popular opinion, and weak executions for the upholding of monarchy."[3] Charles himself did not recognise the realities of the situation. He continued to write cheerfully to the Queen. Argyle, he told her, had promised to do him faithful service. Leslie was equally devoted to him, and had driven with him round the town amidst the shouts of the people.[4] The Queen, we may be sure,

Sept. 3. Charles full of confidence.

Demand that offices should be filled up with the consent of Parliament.

Sept. 7.

Charles's hopefulness.

[1] Bere to Pennington, Aug. 30, *S. P. Dom.*

[2] Webb to Nicholas, Sept. 5, *Nicholas MSS.*

[3] Porter to Nicholas, Sept. 7, *ibid.*

[4] Giustinian to the Doge, Sept. $\frac{17}{27}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

knew well enough what it was that he expected from the devotion of Leslie and Argyle. During the weeks of his absence, she had been again urging the representatives of the Pope on the Continent to send her that supply of money which was so sorely needed. Might it not, she had asked, be sent to Cologne, only to be made over to herself if she could show that there was indeed a sufficient cause for its use. To this, as to all similar pleas, the Papal authorities were deaf.[1]

The Queen's application to the Pope.

Charles's eyes were too steadily fixed on England for him to struggle very pertinaciously against the Scottish Parliament. On the 16th an Act was passed, according to which the King was to choose his officers 'subject to the advice of Parliament.'[2] Charles, perhaps, thought that the mere form of concession would be enough. The next day he gave in a list of councillors, and on the 20th he added the names of the new officers of state. He proposed that Loudoun should be Chancellor, and that Lanark, who with his brother Hamilton, had now attached himself to Argyle, should remain Secretary of State. Roxburgh, a steady partisan of the King, was to keep the Privy Seal; and Morton, who was a still stronger Royalist than Roxburgh, was to be Lord Treasurer. At once Argyle rose to declaim against Morton, his own father-in-law, as a man deeply in debt, and incapable of so great a trust. Many of the nobility urged Charles to stand by his nomination. Morton, however, relieved him from his difficulty by voluntarily relinquishing his claims.[3]

Sept. 16. Act for the choice of officers.

Sept. 20. Nomination of officers.

Opposition of Argyle.

Sept. 22.

Charles was deeply mortified. Argyle, he found, meant to be master in Scotland. The blow was the more bitterly felt because it was accompanied by a still graver disappointment. The troops which had hitherto been kept on foot, and which Charles had expected to be placed at his own disposal for purposes which he, perhaps

Charles ceases to expect help from Scotland.

[1] The Archbishop of Tarsis to Barberini, $\frac{\text{Aug. } 28}{\text{Sept. } 7}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, v. 403.

[3] *Balfour*, iii. 66, 69.

not very definitely, entertained, were dismissed to their homes.[1] From this moment, as far as it is possible to gather from the disjointed fragments of evidence which have come down to us, he ceased to expect any active aid from Scotland. It would be enough if matters could now be patched up in Edinburgh, so as to enable him to return to England without the appearance of utter defeat.

Even this was difficult to obtain. The Parliament now claimed not merely the right to reject the King's nominee, but the right of presenting for the Royal approval a nominee of their own. The barons, too, or lesser gentry, asked that their votes might be given by ballot, and that no one who had taken the King's part in the late war should be admitted to any office in the State.[2]

Demands of Parliament.

In these demands lay the secret of Argyle's strength. He had against him the discontented nobles, but he had the Scottish nation at his back. In the minds of those country gentlemen and townsmen who followed him was the fixed idea that they had been fighting for a great cause, and that Roxburgh and Morton had deserted that cause in its hour of trial. Charles understood nothing of the kind. He wanted to shut his eyes to the past as though it had never been.

Argyle's party.

No wonder Charles's spirits were as depressed now as they had lately been buoyant. "There was never King so insulted over," wrote a sympathising bystander. "It would pity any man's heart to see how he looks ; for he is never at quiet amongst them, and glad he is when he sees any man that he thinks loves him. Yet he is seeming merry at meat."

Sept. 25. Charles's depression of spirits.

The foes of Argyle were fast growing beyond Charles's control. They bore Hamilton a special hatred as a deserter from their cause. Lord Ker, Roxburgh's turbulent son, who had sided with the Covenanters in the late troubles, sent him a challenge as a traitor to his King. Hamilton gave information to Charles, and Ker was

Sept. 29. Hamilton challenged by Ker.

[1] Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 24}{\text{Oct. } 4}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

[2] *Balfour*, iii. 71. *Baillie*, i. 390.

forced to make an apology. The next day he was summoned before the Parliament to give an explanation of his conduct. He came with a following of 600 armed men, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was induced to acknowledge that he had been in fault.[1]

Sept. 30. Ker forced to apologise.

Nothing had yet been done to bring to a close the dispute about the appointment of officers. Loudoun's nomination to the Chancellorship was at last accepted. For the Treasurer's place the king now named Almond, who had, indeed, been Lieutenant-General of the Army of Invasion, but who had joined Montrose in signing the Bond of Cumbernauld. The Parliamentary majority would not hear of him, and its claim to a direct election of officers was again put forward.

Loudoun chancellor.

Oct. 1. Almond nominated for treasurer.

Day after day passed away without bringing an agreement. Around the King passion was waxing fiercer from hour to hour. Montrose, from behind his prison bars, watched the seething of the angry tide. Twice he wrote to Charles, offering to make revelations of the utmost importance to his crown and dignity. Twice Charles refused to listen to vague accusations. He believed, he said, that a man in Montrose's condition would say much to have the liberty to come to his presence. He had made up his mind to come to terms with the Parliament. On the following day he sent a message to Almond asking him to withdraw his claims to the Treasurership, as Morton had done before.[2]

Montrose's letters.

Oct. 9.

Oct. 10. The King is ready to give way.

It was only natural that Charles, in making this concession, should make it in some ill-humour. It was only natural, too, that his displeasure should vent itself on Hamilton, who had promised so much and had performed so little. Lanark's pleadings on his brother's behalf only drew from Charles the cold reply that he believed that he was himself 'an honest man, and that he had never heard any-

His displeasure with Hamilton.

[1] Wemyss to Ormond, Sept. 25, Oct., Carte, *Original Letters*, i. 1, 5. *Balfour*, iii. 36.

[2] Depositions of W. Murray and the Earl of Almond, *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iv. 167, 168.

thing to the contrary; but that he thought' his 'brother had been very active in his own preservation.' Hamilton, in fact, had escaped the danger of being prosecuted as an incendiary by his new intimacy with Argyle.

The 11th brought a third letter from Montrose. This time he averred his readiness to prove Hamilton a traitor.[1] After some hesitation Charles resolved to lay this letter before certain lords, amongst whom were Argyle and Loudoun, in order that they might advise him on the matter.[2]

Oct. 11. Montrose's third letter.

Proposal to submit it to a committee.

So far, at least, Charles had taken the straightforward course; but it was not one which was likely to commend itself to the wrathful noblemen who thronged around him at Holyrood. In Scotland the traditions of private war had not yet wholly died out. A great nobleman depended somewhat on the arguments of his advocates before the Court of Session, and somewhat on his personal influence with the judges, but still more upon the sharp swords of his retainers. It was rumoured that Argyle and Hamilton had 5,000 armed followers in Edinburgh.[3] Those who wished to put an end to the influence of Argyle and Hamilton thought far more of the means of carrying the charge against them to a practical issue than of the accumulation of legal proofs. Behind the veil which still hangs over their proceedings may be dimly discerned efforts to win over such of the soldiery as still remained under arms, and to secure the services of Leslie, in order that there might be no violent interruption of the course of justice. Such, at least, would be the most favourable interpretation of their conduct. How far this intention was communicated to Charles it is impossible to say. But it may be safely inferred that if it was communicated to him at all, he would only hear of it as a plan for vindicating the majesty of the law, and that it was only as such that it would be likely to secure his approval, though it is more probable that

Feeling of Argyle's opponents.

Project of arresting Argyle and Hamilton.

[1] Hamilton's name was not mentioned, but there can be no doubt that he was the person in question.

[2] Murray's deposition, *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iv. 167.

[3] Colonel A. Stewart's deposition, *ibid.* iv. 164.

he did not give his assent to any definite scheme at all.[1] If, however, he really agreed to act on Montrose's last letter, it is not impossible that orders may have been given to Leslie to effect the arrest of the two noblemen on that very evening.

Almond, at least, is said to have had nothing more than the enforcement of legal proceedings in his mind; but amongst those who were burning to throw off Argyle's yoke there were hotter brains than Almond's. The Earl of Crawford, the Catholic head of the house of Lindsay, had served as a soldier of fortune in the German wars on the side of the House of Austria. He had been employed by Charles to command troops against his native country in 1640, and had been dismissed from the English army by the Parliament on account of his religion. Such a man was not likely to brook the predominance of Argyle and Hamilton. He had talked of stabbing them in case of necessity, and had formed a plan for inviting them to meet at the King's lodgings, where they were to be seized, hurried down the backstairs, and carried on board a ship which was lying at Leith. He had entrusted this part of the plot to a certain Colonel Alexander Stewart. On the morning of the 11th this man sent for a cousin of his own, Captain William Stewart, and asked for his assistance in seizing Hamilton. "When you have gotten him," objected the Captain, "they would take him from you." "If it were so," was the reply, "we would make the Marquis desire his friends to stay off till he sustained a censure of what was to be laid to his charge, or else we would kill him, which is the custom of Germany where I have served." In such hands the scheme was slipping from an effort to bring an enemy to justice to a possible assassination.[2]

The Earl of Crawford's plan.

Argyle and Hamilton to be seized.

[1] Even after the recovery of the depositions it is impossible to speak more precisely. Colonel Cochrane gave evidence to the effect that Murray, when he had inquired about his regiment, added, "You shall be bidden to know nothing but what ye get the general's order for" (*Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iv. 166). Captain Stewart deposed (*ibid.* 163), after relating Crawford's violent language, that 'the Lord Almond was of another judgment, that they behoved to be challenged by law.'

[2] Colonel A. Stewart's deposition, *ibid.* iv. 164. The seizure, he

In any case, the plot would probably have been frustrated by the King's reluctance to take violent measures against Hamilton. Even before Montrose's letter was placed in Charles's hands the worst part of the design had been communicated to those whom it most concerned. Captain Stewart had told what he knew to Colonel Hurry, and Hurry gave information to Leslie. Whether Leslie was ready to guard prisoners of high rank or not, he had no mind to take part in a murder, and he passed the information on to the two noblemen who were endangered. Hamilton went to the King, and told him that, as he could not escape calumny, he should leave the Court. Later in the evening he received fuller intelligence of the design against him, and on the following morning Argyle sent a messenger to Charles to tell him all that he had learned. At the same time the Parliament, having been informed of the danger into which two of its leading members had fallen, opened an investigation into the whole affair.

The plot betrayed.

Oct. 12.

In the afternoon Charles set out for the Parliament House, unwisely allowing himself to be followed by some 500 armed men, in which were to be counted the bitterest enemies of the accused lords. Argyle, together with Hamilton and his brother, Lanark, either believed themselves to be in actual danger, or affected to believe it. Professing their unwillingness to risk a slaughter in the streets, they fled to Kineill, one of Hamilton's country houses.[1]

Charles goes to the Parliament House.

Flight of the accused Lords.

Such was the course of the Incident, as this plot was named at the time. When Charles appeared before the Parliament tears stood in his eyes. He spoke feelingly of his affection for Hamilton, his childhood's friend, and declared—in touching remembrance of that night in which he had shown his confidence in the man who was then accused of

The King's speech.

said, was to be effected 'if the King was out of the way'—an important statement in the King's favour.

[1] Lanark's account, *Hardwicke S. P.* ii. 299. Hamilton to the King, Oct. 22, *Hamilton Papers*, 103. *Baillie*, i. 392. *Balfour*, iii. 94. The date of the 2nd Oct. in the first-named paper is plainly a misprint for the 11th, which is sometimes written ii. in MSS. of this date.

conspiring to dethrone him, by admitting him to sleep in the same room with himself[1]—that had Hamilton been in any real danger he did not think that 'he could have found a surer sanctuary than in his bedchamber.' In the end, he asked that the Marquis should be sequestered from the House till the whole mystery had been cleared up, and that he might himself have justice done him by the refutation of the calumnies which had been laid upon him.[2]

Struggle between Charles and the Parliament.

Charles soon found that he had not so ingratiated himself with the bulk of the members as to make them very eager to do him justice. They cared far more about tracking out the plot for the seizure of the fugitive lords. Charles urged that at least the inquiry might be openly conducted before the whole Parliament. The House,

[1] See Vol. VII. p. 182.

[2] I entirely disbelieve Clarendon's story that Montrose offered to kill Hamilton and Argyle. Dr. Burton has argued (*Hist. of Scotland*, vii. 151) against the objection which has been made that Montrose, being in prison, could not have had an interview with Charles; that 'when great people are involved in deep plots, such and much greater obstacles have to be overcome.' He forgot that Charles's opponents had the custody of Montrose's person. There is, however, another argument which seems to me to tell against the story of an interview between Montrose and Charles. All the evidence goes to show that Charles took no account of Montrose's first two letters. He could only have sought an interview after the third. That letter was only brought to Charles on the 11th. Montrose certainly could not have been got out of prison till after nightfall, and before nightfall Charles knew that Hamilton had received warning. He was hardly likely to send for Montrose after that. The fact is, there is no real evidence against Montrose. The story as originally told by Clarendon is a plain, straightforward narrative fitting in very well with all that we know of the matter from other sources. Twenty years later, Clarendon substituted another story, and told how Montrose had offered to commit murder. Such a change would be of value if he had had access to fresh evidence. But as all that he knew must have been derived either from Charles or Montrose, there can have been no fresh evidence. My explanation would be that he had a vague recollection of hearing that Crawford had offered to kill Hamilton and Argyle, and that, with his usual habit of blundering, he substituted Montrose for Crawford, just as in giving the names of the persons who suggested that the King should make his speech of May 1 about Strafford, he substituted Saye for Savile.

perhaps not knowing what disclosures might come out, insisted on an investigation by a secret committee. For days the struggle continued. The King saw in the eyes of those before him their suspicions that he had himself been an accomplice in the plot. He rightly felt that he was himself being put on his trial. "However the matter go," he said, "I must see myself get fair play." He called on the President to ask the House 'why they denied his just and reasonable request.' He protested that if they refused a public inquiry 'he knew not what they would grant him.' It was in vain that Charles protested. On the 21st he gave way, and a committee of investigation was appointed.

Oct. 15.

Oct. 21. Committee of investigation appointed.

No one who has studied Charles's character can believe for a moment that he was directly guilty of conspiracy to murder. Yet, if he found himself distrusted, he had but himself to blame. No doubt Argyle was intriguing and ambitious, and Hamilton was but seeking to swim with the tide; but had not Charles, too, been intriguing and self-seeking? Why was it that he had courted first the Presbyterian middle classes, and then, when he found himself unable to gain his ends by their help, had thrown himself upon the old feudal aristocracy? Was it so very surprising that that aristocracy was still what it had ever been? Its traditions were those of plot and violence, of enemies shot down in the streets of Edinburgh, or hurried off to imprisonment in distant strongholds.

How far Charles was to blame.

Nor did Charles's guilt end here. He had not come to Scotland for any purpose connected with the welfare of the Scottish people. He had looked on them simply as the instrument by the help of which he was to work his will in England, and he had no reason to be surprised if the instrument had broken in his hands.

Oct. 27. Charles's intentions with regard to the English leaders.

Even now Charles had not by any means relinquished his projected attack on the English Parliamentary leaders. It may be that he did not consciously wish to overthrow the legislation of the past year. If the new laws brought with them improvements

in his mode of governing, he was quite willing to accept them. But he had no intention of ceasing to govern, and it was quite evident to him that Pym and his allies were ambitious and designing intriguers, who, for purposes of their own, wished him to cease to govern. He had, indeed, no notion of grasping authority by placing himself boldly at the head of the nation as a whole, but he hoped that by interesting himself in certain questions which had a hold upon particular groups of his subjects he might regain all that he had lost. In August he wrote letters expressing his anxiety for the speedy disbandment of the armies. In September he opportunely discovered that Parliament had omitted to include in its last Tonnage and Poundage Continuance Bill some clauses which would have given satisfaction to the City merchants. "Therefore," he wrote to the Lord Keeper, "I command you, tell the City in my name that, though their own burgesses forget them in Parliament, yet I mean to supply that defect out of my affection to them, so that they may see that they need no mediators to me but my own good thoughts." A month later followed expressions ominous of vengeance, if vengeance could be had. Berkeley and O'Neill, two officers employed in the second Army Plot, had returned from the Continent, and had been put in custody by the Committee of the Commons, which was in session during the recess. "I hope some day," wrote the King, "they may repent of their severity. . . . . I believe, before all be done, that they will not have such great cause for joy." A week later he continued in the same strain, "I hope many will miss of their aims."[1]

Aug. 28. He attempts to gain a party.

Sept. 7.

Oct. 5.

Oct. 12.

On the day on which these words were written Charles can no longer have hoped for armed help from Scotland. It was the day when Edinburgh was in an uproar, and the three lords were flying to Kineill. The most probable explanation is that he hoped to obtain possession of that letter of invitation to the Scots to enter

Hopes to obtain evidence against the leaders.

[1] The King's Apostyle, Aug. 28. The King to Lyttelton (not to Finch, as printed), Sept. 7. The King's Apostyles, Oct. 5, 12, *Evelyn's Memoirs*, ii. App. 3, 13, 27, 28, 30.

England which he believed to be in existence in Scotland, and to convict his opponents of treason on still stronger evidence than that which had been admitted against Strafford.

If Pym knew nothing of these unhappy projects, he at least knew enough to put him on his guard. Hampden was in Edinburgh, gathering more intimate knowledge of Charles's character. He watched him as he coquetted alternately with the Parliamentary Presbyterians, and with the dashing nobles who hated Parliament and Presbyteries. It was not only to news from Edinburgh that Pym had to listen. Holland, on his return from the army in the North, had doubtless much to tell of that second Army Plot for their part in which Berkeley and O'Neill were now in custody. It would have been strange, too, if Lady Carlisle did not from time to time bring him tidings from Oatlands of the Queen's feverish expectations and plans, too cleverly devised to bear the test of action. He must have felt like a soldier who has braced himself to the assault of a fortress, when he stands upon ground which he knows to be mined beneath his feet.

Hampden in Edinburgh.

Pym in London.

During the first days of October, London was in an agitated state. Disbanded soldiers were roaming about, robbing whomsoever they met. The post-bag containing letters for the King was opened by masked highwaymen. The religious troubles were on the increase. In virtue of the resolutions of the Commons, men entered the churches, breaking down the altar rails, dashing in the painted windows, and even tearing up the monuments of the dead when they bore inscriptions inviting to prayer for the departed.[1] Sober men were startled by the breaking out of wild and unlooked-for fanaticism. There were Adamites, it was said, who held it to be their duty to strip themselves of every shred of clothing when they met to worship God. There was the Family of Love, which was reported to plunge into the wildest excesses of debauchery. The Separatists, or Brownists as their adversaries styled them, were of a very different character, but they were treated in much of the pamphlet

Disorders in London.

Oct. 10. Growth of fanaticism.

[1] Wallington s *Hist. Notices*, i. 259.

literature of the day as standing on hardly a higher level. Why, it was asked, should cobblers, weavers, fellmongers, and tailors take on themselves to interpret God's word directly contrary to God's word? Even from the pulpits of the official ministers strange assertions were heard. One minister affirmed that Popish innovations began when the Apostles ordained the first bishops. Another declared that parents ought to abstain from teaching their children the Lord's Prayer. Another minister chided some of his hearers for sitting in church with their hats off, and bade them leave off that superstitious compliment. Another spoke of Felton's murder of the Duke of Buckingham with approbation, whilst yet another deliberately omitted from his prayers the name of Jesus, lest anyone in the congregation should be guilty of idolatry by showing reverence. It was said openly that churches were no more holy than kitchens, or the Lord's table than a dresser-board. One man who attracted notoriety by rising in various churches in order to address the congregation, and who was known as the Prophet Hunt, used to tell all who would listen to him that the Old Testament was of no more use than an old almanac out of date. If a clergyman whose dress or appearance betrayed him as a supporter of the unpopular party ventured out into the streets, it was not long before he had a shouting mob at his heels. A Jesuit, a Baal's priest, an Abbey-lubber, a Canterbury's whelp, were the mildest epithets which were flung at him in derision. At a time when the current ran strongly in favour of the use of extemporary prayers, those who clung to the noble language of the Prayer Book with affection had often cause to regard with contempt the efforts of men without eloquence or education to provide a substitute for it. One preacher asserted that in the late time of drought he had heard a man praying in this fashion: "Lord, there have been some semblances, and some overtures, Lord, of rain. The clouds indeed were gathered together, but they were suddenly dispersed. Lord, Lord, Thou knowest that the kennels of the street yield a most unsavoury smell." The preacher professed that for his part he preferred the despised form: "O God . . . . send us, we beseech Thee, in this our necessity, such moderate

Extemporary prayers.

rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to Thy honour." [1]

It was hard to moderate between the disgust of a large part of the upper and more cultured class and the zeal of the many who were rushing headlong into the whirl of a religious excitement. Government there was none in England, save such as resided in the Committee of which Pym was the guiding spirit. That Committee did its utmost, after its fashion, to stem the tide. It ordered every disbanded soldier to return to his home. It strove to enforce the resolutions of the Commons as a mere declaration of the existing law. But it had a difficult part to play. The sense of insecurity provoked staid and nervous citizens to apprehension. The weight of taxation, especially of the terrible poll-tax, pressed heavily on rich and poor. The religious sense of a respectable minority in London, probably of a majority in the country, was deeply wounded. It was not against Presbyterianism that their anger was moved. The Root-and-Branch Bill had been a clear indication that the Commons had no wish to impose Presbyterianism on England. The present evil which was feared was the sudden uprising of the untaught multitude, that 'blatant beast' of which Spenser had written, forcing the acceptance of its uncouth shibboleths upon men of learning and education. "I think," wrote one who shared in this feeling, "it will be thought blasphemy shortly to name Jesus Christ ; for it is already forbidden to bow at His name, though Scripture and the Church of England doth both warrant it and command it." Placards were already posted up against 'the precise Lords and Commons of the Parliament.' The authors of sedition, it was said, who had conspired with the Scots, must be expelled from Parliament, otherwise men would be found to take their lives, as enemies of God and the commonwealth. Similar placards were exposed to the public gaze in many parts of the country, and especially in Yorkshire.[2]

Pym's Committee.

Oct. 12.

Rising feeling against the sects.

[1] The greater part of this paragraph is founded on *A Sermon preached at St. Paul's the 10th day of Oct. by T. Cheshire*, E. 177.

[2] Wiseman to Pennington, Oct. 7, *S. P. Dom.* Giustinian's despatch, Oct. $\frac{8}{18}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

Parliament was to meet again on the 20th. On the 19th Pym read in committee the letters from Edinburgh telling of the murderous design which had been timely frustrated. For the last ten days, he said, he had been receiving warnings that a similar design was entertained in England. When the Houses re assembled the shadow of the Incident was there to terrify them. "Other men," Essex and Holland thought, "were in danger of the like assaults."[1] D'Ewes moved in the Commons that the danger of a Popish plot should be the first subject of consideration, and that the Lords should be asked to join in settling religion, as a salve for all sores.. Hyde and Falkland fell back on blank incredulity as to there being any danger at all, and asked that the affairs of Scotland should be left to the Scottish Parliament, that they should not 'take up fears and suspicions without any certain and undoubted ground.' The House refused to listen to a plea which made so light of the peril, and the Lords were asked to concur in measures for the protection of Parliament. To this demand the Lords at once assented, and from that day a hundred men from the Westminster Trained Bands kept guard night and day in Palace Yard.[2]

Oct. 19. The Incident known in London.

Re-assembly of Parliament.

Guard voted for Parliament.

The language of Hyde and Falkland was sufficient evidence that the Episcopalian party was in process of conversion into a Royalist party. But their failure to secure any large following as yet, and the prompt concurrence of the Lords with the Commons, was evidence that the conversion was not as yet entirely effected. Even at this time it may safely be affirmed that, if no other question had been at issue than the political one, there would have been no permanent division of parties, and no Civil War, with all its melancholy consequences.

Oct. 20. The Episcopalian party becoming a Royalist party.

Only partisan rancour can throw the blame of the Civil War on either side exclusively. Pym, far-sighted as he was on

[1] *C. J.* ii. 289. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 241 b. *Clarendon*, iv. 20.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 290. D'Ewes s Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 12 b. *Diurnal Occurrences*, 329.

the constitutional question, had been bred up too long on the commonplaces of Puritanism to recognise boldly that no settlement of the Church was likely to be permanent which did not provide for both the chief phases of opinion. Without being himself a fanatic, he had more sympathy with the fanatics than he had with the ceremonialists. The grand vision of religious liberty never lightened his path. The hard problem of toleration which his own generation and the next were called to solve never presented itself to his mind as a question worthy of consideration. He would have had but one Church, one form of worship, one dogmatic teaching, though he would no doubt have administered this system in a large and tolerant spirit. Fatal as his choice was, nothing else could fairly have been expected of him. If he had not shared the errors of his followers he would never have been their leader. The belief that the State was to settle a definite Church order, to which all were bound to submit, was too deeply rooted in the English mind to be easily eradicated, and the unbending severity of Laud's government had called forth a reaction strong enough to remove far away the thought of toleration for any practices which seemed akin to the Laudian innovations.

The fault of division falls on both sides.

Pym.

The action of Falkland is still more disappointing than that of Pym. It might have been expected that with his broad culture and wide sympathies he would have made some overtures with the object of enlarging the formularies of the Church, in order to embrace all moderate men within its fold. The policy of comprehension, indeed, was not altogether a promising one. It would, in any case, have left too many outside the widest possible Church to be accepted as a permanent solution of the problem. But at least it would have acknowledged that the problem existed. No help of this kind was forthcoming from Falkland. His entire want of imaginative force left him without creative power. He was a critic—an amiable, truth-loving critic—but not a statesman. He had attacked Laudian Episcopacy in February. His delicate nerves were shocked in October by the systematic rigour of Presbyterianism and by the fanaticism of the

Falkland.

Oct. 21.

sects. He had said his last word in politics, and he now sank into a mere position of dependency upon a man in every respect, except rigidity of purpose, so inferior to him as Hyde.

Like Falkland, the Long Parliament itself had said its last word in politics. Everything that it had done up to this point, with the single exception of the compulsory clauses of the Triennial Act, was accepted at the Restoration and passed into the permanent constitution of the country. Everything that it attempted to do after this was rejected at the Restoration. The first was the work of the whole Parliament, the second was the work of a majority. Failure, and it must be confessed deserved failure, was the result of Pym's leadership. Failure, and equally deserved failure, would have been the result of the leadership of Hyde.

The permanent work of the Long Parliament ended.

It does not follow that the historian should pause here and throw down his pen in despair. It does not follow that he is even called on to regret the sad and melancholy tale which has yet to be unrolled of Englishmen, born to be as brothers, flying at one another's throats in savage hatred; or, worse still, of Englishmen in despair casting away the high thoughts of their fathers to grovel in the slough of sensuality, except with that regret which is ever springing up afresh for the imperfections and weaknesses of human nature itself. Would England, it may well be asked, have been really the better if it had limited its desires to purely material objects, if it had been content to abolish ship-money and the Star Chamber, to seize the purse, and, with the purse in its hand, to enter into its inheritance of power? Such gains have never been sufficient for any nation or for any man. Liberty and authority are only permanent when they are grasped not for their own sake, but for the sake of higher and more beneficent aims. Our fathers, it is true, strove in error. They walked on paths which led not to wisdom and justice, but to folly and injustice. But wisdom and justice were the objects which they set before themselves. Each party contended for an ideal Church, which was not soiled in their minds by the admixture of material dross; and no man who strives even for a false ideal can fall so low as the man who strives for no ideal at all. The

What has yet to be told.

error was great, and it was sorely expiated. He whose lot it is to tell the tale of the heroic and fatal strife may well look beyond the strife and the immediate relaxation of energy which followed its conclusion. Even in the Restoration he can foresee the Revolution and the reawakening of moral earnestness and intellectual insight which was the ultimate result of the Revolution. If it was in England that the great problem of the seventeenth century was solved by liberty of speech and thought, if England has from time to time raised herself above the temptations of material wealth to loose the bonds of the slave, and to redress the wrongs of the oppressed, if her greatest glory has been that she has been not only free herself but the mother of free nations, it is because at this crisis of her fate she did not choose to lie down and slumber as soon as she judged that the rights of property were safe.

Even now voices were raised to point to the true path of safety; but they were not voices to which any man of authority was likely to listen. The desire for toleration naturally comes to the persecuted before it reaches the philosopher or the statesman, and the theory which had been struck out by the early Separatists retained its power over their successors. Henry Burton, who had been restored to his church in Friday Street, had been rushing forwards to extreme Puritanism, and in a pamphlet entitled *The Protestation Protested*,[1] had sketched out that plan of a national Church surrounded by voluntary churches, which was accepted at the Revolution of 1688 as the solution of the difficulty by which two generations had been troubled.[2] Still more remarkable was *A Discourse opening the nature of that Episcopacy which is exercised in England*, the result of Lord Brooke's vacation

Voices raised for toleration.

July. Burton's *Protestation Protested.*

Lord Brooke's *Discourse on Episcopacy.*

[1] Its publication is mentioned in a letter of July 11, R. Hobart to J. Hobart, July 11, *Tanner MSS.* lxvi. fol. 109.

[2] *The Humble Petition of the Brownists*, 1641, E. 178, declares for complete toleration even for Roman Catholics and for the Family of Love, on the ground that whatever is of God will prosper. The largeness of its charity is rather suspicious, and it was most probably intended as a caricature.

studies. Never did so unpromising a beginning lead up to a fairer conclusion. Brooke entered upon his task by denouncing bishops as upstarts of low birth and ill-breeding. His argument meandered for some time amongst disputed points of ecclesiastical antiquity, in which he fails to interest the reader, because, like most other controversialists of his day, he shows that he is not led by any spirit of historical inquiry, and that he is thinking of Laud and Wren much more than of Ambrose and Augustine. When the constructive portion of the book is reached the author wins upon our sympathies. He is not, indeed, aware, any more than Pym was aware, of the full extent of the problem to be solved. His ideal Church is Puritan and nothing more. But he had been brought, as a member of the House of Lords, face to face with the question of the treatment of schismatics. He had doubtless been one of those Peers who visited the conventicle in Deadman's Place. In this practical way he had come to ask himself the question whether liberty of conscience for the ignorant as well as for the wise were good or bad. The bishops, he says, had declared that ceremonies were indifferent, and on that ground had forced all to take part in them. Brooke boldly answers that nothing is indifferent. The least action ought either to be done or left undone, and it is only our ignorance of the right course which we veil under the name of indifference. Yet if there is to be any sort of Church at all, it must impose certain acts upon its members. The difficulty comes when the community is of one opinion and an individual member of another. Brooke decides for the individual. No power on earth, he says, ought to force his practice. 'One that doubts with reason and humility may not, for aught I yet see, be forced by violence.'[1] With this thought before him Brooke refused to be frightened by the danger of admitting ignorant and vulgar persons to teach. Why, he asks, may not a man be allowed to preach, though he is basely employed all the week in trade, as well as a bishop who is busy all the week with affairs of state? Brooke has full faith in the purifying effect of liberty. "Fire and water," he says "may be restrained, but light cannot. It

[1] Page 33.

will in at every cranny, and the more it is opposed it shines the brighter, so that now to stint it is to resist an enlightened and inflamed multitude." The activity of the bishops in enforcing conformity had resulted in producing many thousand Nonconformists. Why could not men agree to differ? "Can we not dissent in judgment but we must also disagree in affection? We never prove ourselves true members of Christ more than when we embrace His members with most enlarged yet straightest affections."[1]

Merits of Brooke's work.

It is impossible to over-estimate the value of such a book. Whilst the future champions of toleration were silent, whilst Cromwell was giving all his strength to the work of the hour, whilst Milton was lost in admiration of his latest birth of an all-embracing and unobtrusive Presbyterianism, Brooke had worked out the problem of his age, and had given the solution which, after forty-eight years of confused and weary seeking, all England would accept. His pleading on behalf of the liberty of unlicensed preaching preceded by three years Milton's pleading for the liberty of unlicensed printing. No defect in the form of Brooke's work should be allowed to distract our minds from its intrinsic value.

The second Bishops' Exclusion Bill.

If Pym was very far from possessing Brooke's keenness of insight into the future, it was at least certain that his counsels would be given on the side of moderation. The Root-and-Branch Bill was finally abandoned at the reassembling of Parliament. The attempt made by the committee to enforce the resolutions of the Commons in the matter of the ceremonies was also dropped. On the 21st a new Bill was brought in to deprive the clergy of all temporal authority, and especially to exclude the bishops from their seats in the House of Lords. The opposition to the measure was of a very perfunctory kind. Hyde objected to it on the ground that it meddled with the constitution of the Upper House, whilst Falkland took the more practical ground that it was certain to be rejected by the Peers. The only alternative scheme was offered by Dering, who asked that a national Synod should be

[1] Pages 98, 123.

called to remove the distractions of the Church. For the present no attention was paid to this suggestion, which had already been heard of on several occasions since the first meeting of Parliament. It is probable that Pym felt it to be hopeless to expect any such Church reform as he regarded necessary, so long as a compact body of twenty-six episcopal votes was opposed to him in the House of Lords. The new Bill was pushed rapidly through the Commons. It was read a third time only two days after its introduction.[1]

Oct. 23.

When the Bill was sent up to the Lords, some who wished it ill believed that it would be allowed to pass.[2] Its introduction a second time was evidently intended to form the basis of a compromise. Yet there was a large party amongst the Peers which was against all concession. The vigour of the sects during the vacation, and the violence with which the orders of the House of Commons had been in some places executed, had produced a feeling of irritation in many of the Peers, which was increased by the not unnatural resentment roused by an attempt to alter the ancient constitution of their own House. It was observed that on the day after the Bill was sent up, which happened to be a Sunday, an unusual number of Lords travelled down to Oatlands to pay their respects to the Queen.[3] On Monday an incident occurred which showed how intense was the bitterness of the hatred of which Pym had by this time become the object. A letter was delivered to him in his place in the House. As soon as he had opened it, a rag, foul with the foulness of a plague-sore, dropped on the floor. The letter in which it was enclosed termed him a traitor and a taker of bribes, and assured him that if he did not die of the infection now conveyed to him, a dagger would be found to rid the world of his presence.[4]

Feeling of the Lords.

Oct. 24.

Oct. 25. A plague-rag sent to Pym.

In the first months of the Long Parliament, Pym and his

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 31 b. *Dering's Speeches*, 92.

[2] Nicholas to the King, Oct. 25, *Evelyn's Memoirs*, ii. App. 44.

[3] Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Oct. 29}}{\text{Nov. 8}}$, *Ven. Transcripts. R. O.*

[4] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 36 b.

friends had had the advantage of opposing vague and indefinite schemes. No one could tell precisely what the primitive Episcopacy of their adversaries would come to be in practice. That advantage they had now thrown away. After all that had been said and done in support of the Root and-Branch Bill, it was impossible to imagine that the present Bishops' Exclusion Bill was Pym's last word on Church reform. What he wanted, it seemed, was to diminish the majority against him in the House of Lords before producing that scheme which appeared all the more dangerous because he had given no hint what its nature was to be. He would probably have gained far more than he would have lost by bringing forward now a complete but moderate plan of ecclesiastical reform. Unfortunately, he, too, had none of those powers of constructive statesmanship which were most needed at this crisis of our history.

Pym's proposal stirs up opposition.

Not only was the advantage of definiteness of plan lost to Pym, but it had already passed over to the other side. On the 25th Nicholas had been circulating amongst the Peers an extract from a letter which had just reached him from the King. "I hear," wrote Charles, "it is reported that at my return I intend to alter the government of the Church of England, and to bring it to that form as it is here. Therefore I command you to assure all my servants that I am constant to the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England established by Queen Elizabeth and my father, and that I resolve—by the grace of God—to die in the maintenance of it." [1]

The King's manifesto circulated amongst the Peers.

Charles had at last found an object to stand up for which was higher than his own prerogative. By this manifesto he was to abide till the last solemn scene of his life. It gave him the hearts of all who, from various causes, distrusted Puritan domination. In the mouth of any man less liable than himself to prefer intrigue to statesmanship

The manifesto practically a declaration of war

[1] This appears to have been the form in which the extract was circulated, but there was an earlier one. The King's Apostyle, Oct. 12. Nicholas to the King, Oct. 25, *Evelyn's Memoirs*, ii. App. 37, 44. The King to Nicholas, Oct. 18, *S. P. Dom.*

it would, with some modification, have secured a firm foundation for the constitutional monarchy. So deeply-rooted was the monarchical feeling in England that even after it had been chilled by years of misgovernment, it was ready to spring up again with fresh life the moment that the causes of distrust had been removed. In the mouth of Charles, unfortunately, the manifesto was a declaration of war. He had no thought of making room for so many of the Puritan party as would be content to enter into a compromise with their fellow-subjects. Yet Puritanism was still a mighty force in England, and it was not for Charles to hope permanently to exclude it from the Church, any more than it was for Pym to hope to make it permanently dominant in the Church.

The fundamental conditions of government misunderstood.

Both sides, in short, were driven by their antecedents to misunderstand the fundamental conditions of government. Charles believed that an existing system could be maintained in the face of widely-felt dissatisfaction. Pym believed that a new system could be introduced by a mere Parliamentary majority in the face of a dissatisfaction equally widely felt. The one maintained that the House of Commons could effect no change without the assent of the King and the House of Lords. The other exalted the authority of an elected assembly whilst forgetting to inquire whether its decisions were in conformity with the actual necessities of the nation.

Pym and the King.

Yet if there were faults and errors on both sides Charles was personally overmatched by Pym. In coolness and dexterity the Parliamentary leader was far his superior. On the 26th, Pym stopped a proposal made by Holles, that the bishops who had been impeached for their part in the late canons should be accused of treason, whilst he himself carried a vote to ask the Lords to suspend the whole Episcopal Bench from the division on the Exclusion Bill, on the ground that they ought not to be judges in their own case, and to direct that the thirteen who had been already impeached should be sequestered from the House till their case had been decided.[1] An attempt

Oct. 26. Pym asks that the bishops be suspended from voting on the Exclusion Bill.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 295. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 40 b.

passionately supported by Strode to assert the claim of Parliament to a negative voice on ministerial appointments failed to secure the requisite support, and a simple petition was resolved on to express to the King the mere wish of the House on the subject. At the same time the Peers determined by a narrow majority to postpone consideration of the suspension of the bishops, and of the Exclusion Bill itself, till November 10, the day fixed for the opening of the proceedings against the impeached bishops.[1]

Oct. 28. Negative voice on appointments claimed.

Action of the Peers.

It is plain that the majority in both Houses was for the present fluctuating. Neither side wished to push matters to extremities. Charles had no such feeling. Far away at Edinburgh, without the possibility of consultation even with his devoted adherents, he announced his intention of filling five bishoprics which happened to be vacant. Williams was to be Archbishop of York. Hall and Skinner, who were both amongst the impeached prelates, were translated respectively to Norwich and Oxford. The other new bishops were no doubt excellent men, and one of their number, Dr. Prideaux, the Rector of Exeter College, and Professor of Divinity at Oxford, would have done credit to the Bench in any age. What was serious in the matter was the indication of Charles's intention to nominate bishops as he had nominated them before, without any intimation that they were to hold their offices subject to future limitation.

The vacant bishoprics to be filled.

By the majority of the thin House which was now at Westminster, the appointment of the bishops was taken as an insult. Cromwell's vehemence carried the Commons with him in a resolution to demand a conference with the Lords on the subject, and an early day, November 1, was fixed for the consideration of that Remonstrance on the state of the kingdom which had been so often talked of in the earlier part of the year, but which had never been actually discussed.

Oct. 29. Feeling in the Commons.

The Remonstrance to be considered.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. 46 b. *L. J.* iv. 407.

Before the appointed day arrived a fresh blow was aimed at the King. On October 30 Pym revealed what he knew of the second Army Plot. O'Neill and Berkeley had been under examination, and their statements were now read. It was deduced from their evidence that when Charles went to Scotland he had gone with the hope of obtaining military assistance in the North, and it is now known from other sources that the inference was correct. Pym asked whether the danger was at an end yet. Secret forces, he said, had been prepared, and the chief recusants in Hampshire had been meeting for consultation. The Prince of Wales, who should have remained at Richmond, under the charge of Hertford, who was now his governor, had been a frequent visitor at Oatlands where his mother was keeping her Court, and the lad could receive no good in body or soul from his mother. It was to be feared that a connection existed between these plots in England and recent events in Scotland. When Pym sat down it was ordered that Father Philips, and Monsigot, who had recently arrived on a mission from the Queen Mother, should be sent for, and that the Lords should direct Hertford to keep a stricter personal watch over the Prince. With this demand the Lords promptly complied.[1] Whether Pym's suspicions were well founded or not it is impossible to say, but there is a serious corroboration of them in the language which had been used by the Queen to the French ambassador less than a fortnight before. She then told him exultingly that her husband's affairs were in the best possible condition, and that more than 10,000 men were ready to assemble in his service on three days' notice.[2] That which seemed to her to be an increase of strength, was in very truth the cause of incurable weakness.

Oct. 30. The second Army Plot denounced.

Fresh plots suspected.

The Queen's language to La Ferté.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 299. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 37 b.

[2] La Ferté's despatch, Oct. $\frac{21}{31}$, *Arch. des Aff. Étr.* xlviii. fol. 394.

CHAPTER CI.

THE IRISH REBELLION AND THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE.

AGAIN and again Charles's intrigues rose up in judgment against him. On November 1, the day which had been set apart in the House of Commons for the consideration of the Remonstrance, news arrived at Westminster that a rebellion had broken out in Ireland, and that, but for information timely given at the last moment, Dublin itself would have been in the hands of the conspirators.

1641. Nov. 1. News of the Irish Rebellion.

Startling as the news was, there was nothing in it to cause surprise. Everything that had been done in Ireland since the flight of the Earls in 1607 had been of a nature to lead up to such a catastrophe. For a few years after James's accession there had been a serious attempt to remedy the evils of Ireland by enlisting the sympathies of the people in the cause of at least material progress; but before the temptation offered by the commotions in Ulster English virtue had given way. Six counties were declared to be forfeited to the Crown under an artificial treason-law which had no hold on the Irish conscience. English and Scottish colonists were brought in to occupy the richest parts of the soil. The children of the land were thrust forth to find what sustenance they could on the leavings of the intruders, and were debarred even the poor privilege of serving the new settlers for hire, lest they should be tempted to fall upon their masters unawares. That which was done was done not so much in order that the land of Irishmen should be confiscated, as that a British garrison should be planted amongst them. The result, however, was equally disastrous.

Retrospect of the Ulster Plantation.

The system once established found favour in the eyes of succeeding Deputies. British colonists cost nothing to the State, and the means of the Government did not allow it to maintain an army in Ireland adequate to its needs. When St. John and the elder Falkland were Deputies there were fresh plantations, though, in spite of the efforts of land-jobbers and confiscators, an attempt was made to treat the natives with something less of harshness than in Ulster. Three-fourths of the re-divided land was to be assigned to them, and only one-fourth to the British undertakers. Even if the plan laid down had been strictly carried out, the system would have been one of the grossest injustice. Some few Irish families were, no doubt, the better for it. They received estates which would be permanently their own, and were thus induced to improve the land of which they had a secure possession. But the mass of Irishmen had no such good fortune. Their part in the old tribal tenure was utterly unrecognised, and they were contemptuously thrust out into the world to seek their fortunes as best they might.[1]

Later plantations.

When Strafford ruled in Ireland, he had resolved to carry out an extensive plantation in Connaught; hoping thereby to effect a change which would bring with it the blessings of English civilisation, and of English religion. It is true that under his rule a very practical toleration existed. Priests and friars who did not make themselves too conspicuous might go about without hindrance amongst a population which well-nigh adored them, and no Irishman had any difficulty in hearing mass as often as he pleased; but it was clearly understood that this license was merely provisional, and that Strafford was looking to the strength which a fresh confiscation would give him, to enable him to suppress the exercise of the Irish religion with a heavy hand.

The projected Plantation of Connaught.

Strafford fell, but he left his hopes and fears to those who succeeded him. Lord Deputy Wandesford died before the end of 1640, and, after a brief interval, his authority was handed

[1] See the account of these proceedings scattered over the *Calendar of Irish State Papers*, 1615–1625, of some of which an account has been given in Vol. VIII. pp. 1–28.

over to two Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase. The first was an adventurer who had made his fortune by evicting Irishmen from their lands. The second was an old soldier, without any qualifications for governing a country. The difficulties before them were such as to be almost insuperable. They found themselves face to face with a Catholic majority in a Parliament in which the Protestant minority was always ready to join the Catholics in pulling down the edifice of prerogative which had been erected by Strafford. Each House had a committee in England negotiating with the King, and these committees found Charles ready to give way on almost every point. He was too much occupied with his English difficulties to care whether Ireland were the better or the worse for his concessions.

The Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase.

Charles's concessions.

Blow after blow was struck at the revenue, till the exchequer was threatened with a deficit as large as that from which Strafford's energy had saved it. The Lords Justices and the Irish Council were horrified to learn[1] that the Plantation of Connaught, long suspended,

April. Alarm of the Irish Council.

[1] In a letter in which the subject is treated from the English point of view, the Council stated 'that in the Plantations great parts of the lands have been so assured to the British by provisos in the grants and otherwise as they must for ever remain English, and cannot in point of interest come into the hands of Irish, which adds much to the strength of the government and service of the Crown, that by them the great Irish Lords, who for many ages so grievously infested this kingdom, are either taken away, or so levelled with others in point of subjection, as all now submit to the law, and many of them live in good order; that the Plantations have been made only in the Irish territories, where those sometimes unruly chieftains formerly governed, and where the Irish, by advantage of the times, prevailed by incursions, and in a manner continued rebellious for a long time to expel the English first planted, though now many of them are changed into a civil course of life; . . . that if no Plantations had been made, this kingdom had doubtless, in many parts thereof, continued in the old barbarism and tumultuary state, deprived in a manner of all the blessings which that providence of our renowned Princes hath thereby afforded to it, and—which would have been the worst of all—there could have been at this time very little appearance of the Protestant religion here other than where the State resideth, or where the

was at last definitely abandoned. It was still worse when they learnt that the Catholic lords would be content with nothing short of toleration for their own religion, and had ventured to ask why the loyal Catholics of Ireland should fare worse than the rebellious Puritans of Scotland.[1] Such things, indeed, were not said openly in the presence of the Lords Justices; but the Committee of the Irish Peers carried the wishes of their countrymen to Whitehall, and the Queen placed liberty of worship for the Irish on the list of benefits which her husband was ready to bestow on the Catholics in the event of his receiving pecuniary assistance from Rome.[2]

Toleration of the Catholic religion asked for.

As part of a settled policy, Charles's offer of religious liberty to the Irish Catholics would have been worthy of all commendation, though it was hardly likely that he would have been able to carry it into effect. In his hands it was a mere shifty expedient, from which

Hopes held out to the Catholics.

Presidents of the Provinces do live, and in few other particular places; . . . that if the way of Plantations should now, on the sudden, be stopped, we do apparently foresee that it will beget much discouragement and scruple amongst those already planted, and doubtless will occasion disturbance from the former pretendants; . . . that, if it had been thought fit to proceed with those Plantations in Connaught and some other Irish territories lately found for the King in Munster; all which do amount to near a fourth part of the kingdom, where there are now few Protestants that have any considerable estates or fortunes, and the spiritual livings no way competent to support a resident ministry, where there are many ports, creeks, and havens lying open upon Spain and other kingdoms apt for trade, and fit to be inhabited by men of skill and industry . . . we could little doubt to affirm that His Majesty and his heirs should for ever, by God's blessing, have continuance of as firm rule and obedience in this kingdom as in any other his dominions.'—The Lords Justices and Council to Vane, April 24, *S. P. Ireland.*

[1] They asked 'che sia permesso la libertà di conscienza, et li Cattolici in particolare uon solo chiedono con pietoso zelo l'esercitio publico della Romana religione, ma spallegiati della gente da guerra, che non volse come scrissi agli ultimi comandamenti de S. M^tà sbandarsi, sono tumultuosamente entrati nella Chiesa Cathedrale Protestante di Dublin,'—Derry is no doubt meant—'dove hanno fatto col concorso di molto popolo cantare una solenne messa.'—Giustinian to the Doge, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Ven. Transcripts.*

[2] See Vol. IX. 384.

nothing good was to be expected, and the mere suggestion of which was certain to kindle hopes which could hardly be disappointed with impunity. Everything seemed to be prepared to bring about a catastrophe. Almost immediately after Strafford's death Leicester had been appointed to the lord-lieutenancy. Instead of hastening to his post, he loitered in England with no sufficient excuse. Charles showed no sign of anxiety for his departure, and it is possible that he was well pleased to leave the field open to the execution of plans in which Leicester could never be expected to concur.

Leicester Lord Lieutenant.

Whether under any circumstances an Irish national and Catholic parliamentary government would have been tolerant of existing Protestant congregations might reasonably be doubted. It was, however, certain that this question of toleration for the Church of the Irish people could not, as Charles imagined, stand alone. The Land difficulty followed closely upon the heels of the Religious difficulty. To claim Ireland for the Irish, and to thrust out the intruders who were battening on Irish soil, was the inevitable complement of the demand that Irish ecclesiastical institutions should be constituted in accordance with the ideas of the Irish people.

The Church question and the Land question.

A wise and strong England able to repress armed resistance, and capable of doing justice to the real grievances of Irishmen, might possibly in time have effaced the traces of that evil which had been the work of English statesmen. Unfortunately, for more than thirty years, the English government had not been wise, and now at last it had ceased to be strong. The native population had neither been crushed nor conciliated. Full of the memories of violated rights and goaded to bitter hatred by the contemptuous indifference of the conquerors, that population was mastered by a devouring indignation which when it once burst forth would rage as a consuming flame. Irishmen had not passed through the experience which had made Scotland invincible. They had not the discipline which comes of the traditions of successful warfare waged through generations under trusted leaders. Nationality was with them rather a hope of far distant gain than a

Risk of explosion.

precious possession bequeathed to them by their forefathers. The mass was rude and uncultivated, prone to sudden deeds of violence and to unthinking panics, cruel as children are cruel, under the sudden gust of passion or impulse. Even victory was certain to bring its own perils. Between the cultivated gentleman of Norman descent and the rude dispossessed peasant of Ulster there was little in common. For a moment they might act together, but there could be little mutual confidence between them.

May.

The peasant's hatred of the English colonists found expression in a large number of men of birth and education, who, either through their own fault or that of others, had fallen from wealth to poverty. Foremost amongst these was Roger More. His ancestors had once been in the possession of large estates in Queen's County, which had since been lost to the family. Merging his private grievance in the general grievances of his countrymen, he acquired their confidence by his force of character. "God and our Lady be our assistance, and Roger More," was an expression often to be heard on Irish lips. His attractive force was increased by his blindness to all except the nobler side of the object at stake, and he was able to inspire others with courage because he spoke from his heart of the cause in which he was engaged as one which appealed only to the purest and most elevated sentiments of human nature. It is to his credit that, when he found himself face to face with the grim realities which his own enthusiasm had evoked, he risked his life to put a check upon the foul deeds which clouded the accomplishment of his purpose, and at last stood aside from the conflict rather than win success through a mist of tears and blood.

Roger More.

Another leader of less commanding ability, but of higher position, was Sir Phelim O'Neill. He was the grandson of an O'Neill who had taken the side of the English Government after the flight of the Earls, and, now that Tyrone's son had died without issue, he regarded himself as the heir to the chieftainship of the sept.

Sir Phelim O'Neill.

The patriotism of Lord Maguire, like that of More and O'Neill, was not uninfluenced by personal considerations. He

was a young man overwhelmed by debt, and he had therefore everything to gain by a commotion. He might not only relieve his estate from the burden which weighed heavily upon it, but he might hope to regain the authority which had been exercised by his ancestors in Fermanagh.

Lord Maguire.

The first serious plan for rising in vindication of the claims of Irishmen to the soil seems to have been entertained in February, though the idea had not been absent from the minds of the natives during many years. The scheme received a strong impulsion from the news brought from Westminster by every post. The English Parliament was evidently bent on treating Catholics with a harshness to which they had long been unaccustomed, and there was no reason to suppose that the Catholics of Ireland would be dealt with more gently than their brethren in England. "Undoubtedly," said More, "the Parliament now in England will suppress the Catholic religion."[1]

February. The first plan of a rising.

The English Government would have had little to fear if it had had only to deal with a few discontented gentlemen. The gravity of the situation arose from the fact that the fears and hopes of these gentlemen were shared by the whole of the native population of the country. When, as had been at first intended, the disbanded army was on the march for the place where it was to have taken ship for foreign service, the soldiers were advised by priests and friars not to leave the country 'although they lived only on bread and milk, for that there might be use for them here.'[2] There can be no doubt that the Irish believed that they were called on to act in self-defence. It cannot have been unknown to them that if the Lords Justices and the Council could have their way they would proceed to a fresh partition of Irish land, and to a fresh attack upon the Catholic clergy.[3] Amongst an ignorant

June. Signs of trouble.

[1] Carte's *Ormond*, i. 156. Maguire's *Relation*, Nalson, ii. 543.

[2] Captain Serle's evidence, June 9, *S. P. Ireland.*

[3] The Protestant Archbishop of Tuam complained about this time that the titular Archbishop is 'plentifully maintained, generally respected, feeds of the best, and it is a strife betwixt the great ones which shall be happy in being the host of such a guest.' He adds that the country suffered

and impulsive people, it was only too natural that belief should outstrip actual fact. Irishmen were soon firmly convinced that the English Parliament had declared its resolution to extirpate Irish Catholicism, and that the Lords Justices had openly expressed their determination to carry out its orders.

In intriguing with the Catholic Lords, Charles was applying a lighted match to a magazine of gunpowder. One day in August Sir James Dillon met Lord Maguire in Dublin, and proposed to him, in the name of the colonels of the disbanded army, to seize the Castle with the help of the Catholic Lords. Influential Irishmen would at the same time surprise other fortified posts. The Lords, however, drew back, possibly wishing to act by the King's orders rather than in combination with irresponsible adventurers. Maguire and his immediate friends resolved to take an independent course. They were in correspondence with Owen Roe O'Neill, a brave and active officer in the Spanish service in the Netherlands, and he had promised to send arms for 10,000 men. It was finally arranged that an insurrection in the North should take place on the same day as the seizure of Dublin Castle, and after some hesitation October 23 was fixed on for the attempt.[1]

August. Sir James Dillon proposes to seize Dublin Castle.

The Catholic Lords refuse to join him.

grievously in having to pay a double clergy. The people, in multitudes, daily resorted to 'the mass-houses.' In Galway mass was said with such publicity 'that the well-affected English . . . at the daily hearing of the same as they go about their business in the street are much wounded in conscience.' The natives thought it hard to have to pay to the Protestant clergy a less sum than they paid cheerfully to their own priests. *S. P. Ireland.* It takes some effort now to understand that all this was written with complete seriousness.

[1] Maguire's *Relation*, Nalson, ii. 543. The probability that the Lords held back in order to await instructions from the King, is much increased if we accept the detailed statement in *The Mystery of Iniquity* (E. 76), by Edward Bowles, that the Irish Committee returned to Ireland 'the same month His Majesty went for Scotland,' namely August, 'leaving the Lord Dillon who was presently after sent with the Queen's letters, requesting or requiring his being made Councillor of Ireland, to His Majesty then at Edinburgh.' If, as seems likely, Lord Dillon was to bring the King's last instructions, of which I shall have something to say later, this would account for the Lords' hesitation. Such evidence as this can only furnish

Early in October a congress of priests and laymen was held in Westmeath in the Abbey of Multyfarnham. The question was agitated what course was to be taken with the English and other Protestants. The friars, followed by many who were present, urged, on every consideration of religion and policy, that there should be no massacre. Treat the English, they said, as the Spaniards treated the Moors, sending them back to their own country with at least some part of their property. Others argued that no way was so safe as a general slaughter. Banished men might come back with swords in their hands. It was evident that, before all was over, there would be wild work in Ireland.[1]

October. Congress of Multyfarnham.

Some vague warnings had reached the Lords Justices from time to time. It was not till the evening of October 22, the day before the intended surprise, that they were roused from their lethargy. On that day Lord Maguire and Hugh Mac Mahon were in Dublin with eighty men, ready for the next day's work. Amongst these men was a certain Owen O'Conolly, whose name and birth had pointed him out as a fitting instrument for the design. Unluckily for the conspirators, the man was a Protestant in the service of Sir John Clotworthy. Concealing his real opinions, he contrived to escape, made his way to Parsons, and told all that he knew. He had learned, he said,

Warnings of danger.

Oct. 22. The plot betrayed.

indications, not proofs. What is remarkable is that they all point in the same direction. Lord Antrim's statement is that the second message from the King was sent from York by Captain Digby, and that in it Charles directed that the disbanded army should be brought together again, 'and that an army should immediately be raised in Ireland that should declare for him against the Parliament of England, and to do what was therein necessary and convenient for his service.' Antrim says that he informed Lord Gormanston, Lord Slane, and others in Leinster, and after going into Ulster he communicated the same to many there, but that 'the fools . . . well liking the business would not expect our time or manner for ordering the work, but fell upon it without us, and sooner, and otherwise than we should have done, taking to themselves, and in their own way, the managing of the work, and so spoiled it.'—Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, ii. 208.

Jones's *Remonstrance*, 31.

from Mac Mahon, that the projected seizure of the Castle was but a small part of the enterprise. The next morning every Englishman in Dublin was to be slaughtered. All the Protestants in other towns were to be put to death that very night. There is every reason to believe that this promiscuous massacre did not enter into the plan of the conspirators. O'Conolly, and perhaps Mac Mahon as well, had been drinking heavily.[1] Exaggerated or not, the information must have fallen on the Lords Justices like a thunderbolt. To meet the danger they had at their disposal only 3,000 men, scattered in small detachments over the whole face of the country. More than twice that number of those soldiers who had been lately disciplined by the King's orders, that they might serve him against his Scottish and, possibly, against his English subjects, were also to be found in Ireland, but they were far more likely to join the rebels than to fight against them. The Government had hardly a shilling to dispose of. The conspirators had chosen a moment when the King's half-yearly rents and dues were still unpaid, and it was now most unlikely that they would ever be paid at all. Of the population of Ireland about nine-elevenths might be reckoned as Catholics by creed, and very nearly as large a proportion as Celtic by race. The city of Dublin had no fortifications, except those of the Castle, and, in deference to the constitutional objections of Parliament, not a single soldier was billeted in the city. It was calculated that in Dublin itself there were fifteen Catholics to one Protestant. The garrison of the Castle consisted of six aged warders and forty halberdiers, maintained for display in ceremonies of State.[2]

Weakness of the English army.

The Lords Justices and the Council did all that was in their power. Maguire and Mac Mahon were seized. Mac Mahon declared proudly that 'what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it.' "I am now in your hands," he ended

Oct. 23. Seizure of Mac Mahon and Maguire.

[1] O'Conolly's examination, Temple's *Irish Rebellion*, 19.

[2] Carte's *Ormond*, i. 168.

by saying, "use me as you will. I am sure I shall be shortly revenged."[1]

Dublin saved.

Dublin at least was saved. An able soldier, Sir Francis Willoughby,[2] was placed in command of the Castle, and made a show of defence which imposed on the multitude till a sufficient garrison could be obtained. For a time the whole city was given up to rumours. It was said that 10,000 rebels were already encamped on the Hill of Tara, seventeen miles from Dublin. At another time it was said that the rebels were actually marching through the streets of the city.[3] In truth, the seizure of the leaders had deprived the conspiracy of its guides. The rift between the Catholics of English birth who hoped for a toleration granted by the King, and the Catholics of Irish birth who wished for an agrarian revolution was already to be descried. It was afterwards to widen into a breach which would be fatal to all national action in Ireland.

Oct. 23. News from the North.

Anxiously the handful of English Protestants in Dublin waited for news from Ulster. On the night of the 23rd it was known that Monaghan had risen, English posts had been seized, and Englishmen had been plundered. At Newry, where there was a fort, the insurgents had overpowered the garrison, and had armed themselves out of the King's stores. Not a word was heard of the death of a single Englishman. These things, however, had taken place on the south-eastern edge of Ulster. It was impossible for any eye to penetrate through the veil to see what deeds might have been done behind it.

Oct. 24. The Lords of the Pale.

The great difficulty of the Lords Justices was to know what to do with the Catholic Peers. They dared neither trust them nor alienate them. They made a show of confidence by placing in their hands a few arms for the defence of their houses in the country, but they prudently prorogued the Parliament, which was shortly to have

[1] Examination of Mac Mahon, *L. J.* iv. 416.

[2] The man who had once been challenged by Falkland. See Vol. III. 255.

[3] *Temple*, 24.

met. On the 25th they despatched to Leicester an account of
Oct. 25. all that they as yet knew of their danger.[1]

On November 1 the despatch of the Lords Justices was read in both Houses at Westminster. Only one result was
Nov. 1. possible. Under no circumstances was the English
Feeling in the English Parliament. Parliament likely to feel any sympathy with the grievances of the native Irish. In the face of a rebellion which threatened to sweep away the name and creed of Englishmen from Ireland, there was no room in the minds of Lords and Commons for any feeling save one of wrath and
Votes of Parliament. horror. They voted that 50,000*l.* should be borrowed for the suppression of the rebels, that Leicester should be requested to proceed at once to Dublin, and that 8,000 men should be raised to give effectual help to the colonists. In order that no time might be lost, they directed that volunteers should be invited to give in their names at once for the service.

Having done thus much, the Houses turned their attention to the root of the mischief, which they conceived to lie in the
Nov. 2. Queen's Court. Father Philips was sent for to give
Imprisonment of Father Philips. evidence before the Lords. He was much alarmed, thinking that Hamilton had betrayed the secret of the Queen's negotiation with Rome. He therefore raised the preliminary objection that he could not be sworn on the English Bible. The Lords, who knew nothing of the secret which he wished to conceal, took offence, and committed him to the Tower without any further attempt to obtain evidence from him.[2]

All this was done without a single dissentient voice. On one point opinion was divided. The King, startled with the

[1] The Lords Justices to Leicester, Oct. 25, *Rushworth*, iv. 399. If the Lords Justices had intended to proclaim toleration for the Catholics they might have trusted the Irish Lords, but hardly otherwise.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 418. Rossetti to Barberini, March $\frac{6}{16}$, *R. O. Transcripts*. It is to be noted that whilst modern writers often dwell on the facility with which Pym accepted false rumours against the Catholics, Rossetti's mind is occupied with fears lest he should come to the knowledge of the true state of the case.

wild shape which his intrigue with the Irish Lords had taken, had asked the Scottish Parliament to assist in the reduction of the rebels. The Scottish Parliament consented, and the English Parliament was asked to accept the offer thus made. Falkland and Culpepper, dreading lest Scottish troops might again give the law to England, raised objections. Their objections were, however, overruled, and the Scots were told that if they would send 1,000 men into Ulster, the English Parliament would willingly take them into pay.[1]

Nov. 4. Were Scottish troops to be employed?

On the next day the House proceeded to draw up instructions for the Parliamentary Committee in Scotland. Then Pym rose. He said that he would be surpassed by no man in readiness to sacrifice life and estate in that cause. But as long as the King gave ear to the evil counsellors by whom he was surrounded all that Parliament could do would be in vain. He moved an Additional Instruction, to the effect that unless the King would remove those counsellors and 'take such as might be approved by Parliament' they would not hold themselves bound to assist him in Ireland.

Nov. 5. Instructions to the Committee in Scotland.

Pym's additional instruction for the removal of counsellors.

It was a startling proposal. Hyde opposed it as a menace to the King. Waller said that it was a declaration that the House was absolved from its duty, as Strafford had declared the King to be absolved from all rules of government. Waller was forced to ask pardon for his words, but it would seem that even Pym's own followers refused to support him further, as he was obliged to consent to the adjournment of the debate.[2] On the following day the House

Nov. 6.

[1] *Nalson*, ii. 600. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 60 b.

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 100 b. It is extremely difficult to realise Pym's position with respect to the Popish Plot. We do not know how much he knew, and we certainly do not ourselves know all. Here, for instance, is a sudden half-light thrown by a letter of Cardinal Barberini's. After speaking of the treatment of the King by the Scottish Parliament, he adds 'et il Principe d'Oranges stia con non puoca affiitione dovendo mandare il figlio in Inghilterra, sapendo che vi manda incerto se

deliberately rejected his motion.[1] On the 8th he reproduced it in a modified form. After a complaint that the miseries of past years had originated in the malice of persons admitted into very near places of council and authority about the King, and that there was strong reason to believe that others had been 'contriving by violence to suppress the liberty of Parliament, and endanger the safety of those who have opposed such wicked and pernicious courses,' the Commons were asked to declare that they feared lest the same persons would divert the aids granted for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland 'to the fomenting and cherishing of it there, and encouraging some such like attempts by the Papists and ill-affected subjects in England.' They were therefore humbly to beseech his Majesty 'to employ only such counsellors and ministers as should be approved by his Parliament.'

Nov. 8. Pym modifies his proposal.

The King to name ministers approved by Parliament;

otherwise the Commons to provide for Ireland without the King.

"If herein," the Commons were further to say, "His Majesty shall not vouchsafe to condescend to our humble supplication—although we shall always continue, with reverence and faithfulness to his person and to the Crown, to perform those duties of service and obedience to which by the laws of God and this kingdom we are obliged – yet we shall be forced, in discharge of the trust

potrà riportarne in quà la spesa et forze del ritorno del medesimo figliolo.' Barberini to Rossetti, Nov. $\frac{13}{23}$, *R. O. Transcripts.* What can be meant by this except that the young Prince was to have come to England with ulterior designs, in some way to help Charles after a successful return from Scotland? Barberini says that he derived his knowledge from France. Again in a letter of $\frac{\text{Dec. } 26}{\text{Jan. } 5}$, Rossetti says that when the King was in Scotland he wished to form a good council of war 'di gente di Regno et ancora di forastieri.' Of the former he applied to Bristol, Lennox, Winchester, and Clanrickard 'e benchè questi due fussero Cattolici se sentiva però dal Rè volontieri il loro parere, mostrando medesimamente S. Mtà propensione grande verso gl' Hibernesi.' Of the foreigners the Prince of Orange was chiefly thought of 'ancorche al presente non si sappia, come si scrive, che cosa possa succedere del matrimonio, et anche fu parlato del Duca di Buglione et si stimava buon' soldato il Duca della Valletta.'

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 108 b. *C. J.* ii. 301.

which we owe to the State, and to those whom we represent, to resolve upon some such way of defending Ireland from the rebels, as may concur to the securing of ourselves from such mischievous counsels and designs as have lately been and still are in practice and agitation against us, as we have just cause to believe; and to commend those aids and contributions which this great necessity shall require, to the custody and disposing of such persons of honour and fidelity as we have cause to confide in."[1]

Pym carries his motion.

Thus modified, Pym's Additional Instruction was almost more startling than it had been in its original shape. Culpepper declared that Ireland was part of England, and ought to be defended whatever might be the result. Even D'Ewes argued that, if a neighbour's house were on fire it would be the duty of those who were near to quench the conflagration without a preliminary inquiry into the moral character of the householder. Pym, however, held his ground, and carried his resolution by the considerable majority of 159 to 110.[2]

Revolutionary character of the proposal.

Undoubtedly no proposal of so distinctly revolutionary a character had yet been adopted by the Commons. The Act taking away the King's right of dissolution had, after all, left Charles in possession of such powers as law and custom had confided to him. The Additional Instruction seized upon the executive power itself, so far at least as Ireland was concerned. Yet it would be hard to say that Pym was not justified in what he did. No doubt he exaggerated the mischief which Charles's counsellors were likely to do. But, after every allowance has been made, the fact remains that for the space of a whole year, Charles's relations with Parliament had been one long intrigue. The probabilities of his future action had to be estimated with the help of the knowledge gained of his character through the two Army Plots and the Incident. It can now hardly be doubted that Charles would not have submitted to that which he regarded as the unconstitutional authority of Parliament a moment longer than he could help.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 431. [2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 108 b.

Yet even those who admit that this was true, may ask whether Pym was wise in deciding to anticipate the conflict. Every effort which Charles had hitherto made to bring force to bear on Parliament had failed miserably. Every detected plot had only served to bring into clearer light the unanimity of both Houses and of both parties in the face of such dangers as these. Neither Hyde nor Falkland in the Commons, nor Bristol in the Lords, had any wish to see Parliament the mere creature of the King. Up to the end of October, greatly as the strain of this situation would have tried the patience of the most enduring statesman, Pym's wisest course undoubtedly had been to stand on the defensive, relying on the nation itself to resist any rash act of the King's. Charles had no longer any military force openly at hand ; and even if he thought himself able to rely on some occult support, it was in the highest degree improbable that he would have skill enough to avail himself of it at the critical moment.

Was Pym wise in making it?

Since the last week in October all such considerations had lost their weight. Whatever else might be the result of the Irish Rebellion, it was certain that a new army must be called into existence to suppress it, and that if this army were officered by the King's creatures, it would be dangerous to the Parliamentary liberties of England. The risk of military violence from the discredited, ill-disciplined army of the North in the spring and summer was nothing to the risk of military violence if it was to come from an army flushed with victory and steeled to discipline under leaders which it had learned to trust. It might be argued indeed that the suppression of the rebellion was a matter of such transcendent importance that the House was bound to run the risk of seeing the establishment of a military despotism in England rather than interpose the slightest delay in the transmission of succour to the endangered colony. Such, however, was not the view of Pym, and those who adopt it must carry the argument into a region too purely speculative to make it in any way necessary to follow them.

An army necessary.

Nor was it only in respect to Ireland that the majority of the Commons was laying hands on the executive powers. Two

days earlier Cromwell had carried a motion that the Lords should be asked to join in a vote giving Essex power from the House to command the trained bands south of the Trent in defence of the kingdom. It is true that this was only what Essex had authority from the King to do; but the addition of a clause 'that this power' might 'continue till this Parliament shall take further orders' was an open attack on the prerogative.[1]

Nov. 6. Cromwell moves to entrust Essex with power over the trained bands.

Whether Pym's motion were justifiable or not, it was the signal for the final conversion of the Episcopalian party into a Royalist party. That party, in a minority in the Commons, was in a majority in the Lords. To baffle the Puritans had now become its chief object. For the sake of that it was ready to trust the King, and to take its chance of what the Irish campaign might bring forth. On the religious ground there was no longer any hope of compromise. Neither party had sufficient breadth of view to perceive the necessity of giving satisfaction to the legitimate demands of the other.[2]

Nov. 8. The Episcopalian party now Royalist.

Diffident of support in the Upper House, the leaders of the majority in the Commons fell back upon the people. The often-proposed and often-postponed Remonstrance was read in the Lower House before the close of the eventful sitting of the 8th, and it was ordered that its consideration, clause by clause, should commence on the following day.

The Remonstrance read.

In the oblivion which falls even upon the proceedings of

[1] *C. J.* ii. 305. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 106 b.

[2] The state of feeling in the Upper House is well expressed in the following extract:—"The Bill for removing the bishops out of our House sticks there, and whether we shall get it passed or not is very doubtful, unless some assurance be given that the rooting out of the function is not intended. The House of Commons have made a Remonstrance," *i.e.* the Additional Instruction, "and have desired us to join them in it, wherein they do, in the general, humbly pray His Majesty that he would be pleased to change his counsels, and for the future not to admit of any Councillor or Minister of State, but such as the Parliament shall approve of, and may confide in. This stops likewise in our House, and I believe will hardly pass with us without some alteration."—Northumberland to Roe, Nov. 12, *S. P. Dom.*

the most famous of Parliaments, this Remonstrance—the Grand Remonstrance, as posterity has agreed to call it—stands out as the starting-point of a new quarrel. To the historian, it is but a link in the chain of causation which was hurrying the nation into a civil war. So much of it as related to religion was an answer to the King's declaration in support of the doctrine and discipline of the Church which had recently been circulated amongst the Peers.[1] In political matters it merely defined the position taken up by the Commons in the Additional Instruction. That which specially distinguished it, was the intention of its framers to use it as an appeal to the nation, rather than as an address to the Crown.

Its importance.

It was not in the nature of things that a document thus prepared should contain a purely uncoloured description of past events. If Charles had drawn up a similar narrative it would probably have been stained by equal exaggeration. Even writers the most prejudiced in favour of Royalty, if they only look facts in the face, have to assign a large share of blame for the misfortunes of this reign to Charles himself. It is no wonder that the authors of the Remonstrance assigned to him the whole. It was not to be expected that they should have discovered that they had themselves made many mistakes, and were likely to make many more, or that they should have avoided exaggerating the importance of that Catholic intrigue which, as we now know, was no mere creation of their own fancy.

Its character.

The root of the mischief, they said, 'was a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government, upon which the religion and justice of the kingdom' were 'firmly established.' This design was entertained by the Papists, the bishops, and the evil counsellors. These men had fomented differences between the King and his people, had suppressed the purity and power of religion, had favoured Arminians, and had depressed those whom they called Puritans. They had countenanced 'such opinions and ceremonies' as

Attack on the Catholics, the bishops, and the evil counsellors.

[1] See page 39.

were 'fittest for accommodation with Popery, to increase ignorance, looseness, and profaneness in the people.' Further, they had done their best to alienate the King from his subjects by suggesting other ways of supply than 'the ordinary course of subsidies.'

If this was but a caricature, it was at least a caricature founded on truth. Motives were supplied or exaggerated, but the tendency of the acts which had been done was very much what the Remonstrance alleged it to have been.

Then followed a long list of enormities, commencing with the very beginning of the reign. The Remonstrance told of the hasty dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, of the disasters of Buckingham's government, the breach of the privileges of the Commons, the imposition of unparliamentary taxation, the tyranny of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the imposition of a new Prayer Book on Scotland, followed by violent action against the Scots, and by the dissolution of the Short Parliament for its refusal to abet the designs of the Court against its brethren in the North. Then came a list of the good deeds of the existing Parliament. Wrong and oppression had been beaten down, and had been made legally impossible in the future. What was now needed was security. The authors of the two Army Plots had been busy in Ireland, and had 'kindled such a fire as nothing but God's infinite blessing upon the wisdom and endeavours of this State had been able to quench it.'

Acts of Charles's government recounted

After this came a complaint against the bishops, and against the recusant lords who had returned to their places after the excitement about the Protestation had cooled down. They were charged with frustrating all the efforts after reformation made by the Commons.

Complaint against the bishops and the recusant lords.

What were these efforts after reformation? On this all-important point, Pym had as little chance of arriving at a satisfactory solution as Hyde. He was animated by no large spirit of comprehension or toleration. He had no broad remedy to propose, which would give to all men as much as they could legitimately claim. He was as unready to listen to Brooke's plea for the worship of the conventicle, as he was un-

ready to listen to Hyde's plea for the worship of the cathedral From one party as loudly as from the other was heard the cry for uniformity of doctrine and discipline.

"They infuse into the people," said the authors of the Remonstrance, "that we mean to abolish all Church government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto His Majesty, whom we know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of England, by such rules of order and discipline as are established by Parliament, which is his great council in all affairs, both in Church and State.

The Commons are calumniated.

"We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the laws of the land, to which end we passed the Bill for the removing them from their temporal power and employments; that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions, which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing.

Their plan of Church discipline.

"And we do here declare that it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of Divine service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the Word of God. And we desire to unburden the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry.

"And the better to effect the intended reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted with some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us; who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their

consultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom."

The whole contention of the party of the Grand Remonstrance, the whole root of the baleful tree of Civil War, lay in these words. "The malignant party," they went on to say, "tell the people that our meddling with the power of Episcopacy hath caused sectaries and conventicles, when idolatry and Popish ceremonies introduced into the Church by command of the Bishops have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the kingdom. Thus, with Elijah, we are called by this malignant party the troublers of the State, and still, while we endeavour to reform their abuses, they make us the authors of those mischiefs we study to prevent."

Position taken up.

"No Popery!" was the cry on one side. "No sectarian meeting!" was the cry on the other. "No toleration!" was the cry on both.[1]

In the face of such divisions of heart and mind every claim for increase of political power had the ring of faction in it. Yet it was impossible that the demand made in the Additional Instruction should be passed over in the Remonstrance. Charles was asked to employ such councillors, ambassadors, and other ministers in managing his business at home and abroad as the Parliament might have cause to confide in. Otherwise no supplies could be given. It would not be enough to allow the right of impeachment. "It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Councillors, and yet not

Demand for a responsible ministry.

[1] A contemporary letter well brings this out. "Troubles . . . I believe will not yet cease until the business of religion be better settled, and the sectaries and separatists (whereof in London and the parts contiguous are more than many) may be suppressed and punished. . . . Oft times we have more printed than is true, especially when anything concerns the Papists, who (though they are bad enough) our preciser sort strive yet to make them worse, and between them both are the causes that in no discoveries we can hardly meet with the face of truth."—Wiseman to Pennington, Nov. 11, *S. P. Dom.*

charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lie not in proof. There are others which, though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal."

Politically Pym—and Pym may fairly be regarded as the main author of the Remonstrance—was far in advance of his opponents. The position which had been taken by the Houses, with the full consent of both parties, was incomplete without the subordination of the Executive to Parliament. If Pym was in the wrong, it was not here that his mistake was made.

Character of Pym's work.

On the 9th the Remonstrance underwent a closer examination. Fresh paragraphs were added, embodying additional grievances which had been omitted in the original draft. No opposition, so far as is now known, was offered to those clauses in which the King's past misgovernment was set forth in detail. During the discussion of the first two days not a single division is reported to have been taken.[1]

Nov. 9. The Remonstrance discussed.

Once more the attention of the House was called off by bad news from Ireland. Before the first week of the rebellion was over it had developed itself in the direction of that savagery which inevitably attends the uprising of a population suffering under grievous wrongs, without the habit of self-restraint which is the most precious fruit of the higher civilisation. It is true that on October 24 Sir Phelim O'Neill made known by proclamation that no harm was intended either against the King or against any of his subjects.[2] It is just possible that in some dreamy way he may have contemplated a revolution in which all wrongs should be righted without effusion of blood. The fact was far otherwise. There was, indeed, no general massacre in the North.[3] The Scots who formed the majority

Nov. 11. Worse news from Ireland.

Oct. 24. O'Neill's proclamation.

No general massacre.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 116 b. 121 b.

[2] Proclamation, Oct. 24. *S. P. Ireland.*

[3] If a general massacre had taken place, it must have left traces in the *Carte MSS.* and the *State Papers*. On Sir John Temple as an authority, see Lecky, *Hist. of England*, ii. 149. I take this opportunity of expressing my extreme admiration for Mr. Lecky's account of the Irish Rebel-

of the colonists were spared, apparently on some notion that, the cause of nationality being common to Scotland and Ireland, they were not to be regarded as enemies. Nor were the English put to the sword in a body. The condition of the settlers was, however, scarcely less pitiable. In the first week of the rebellion the greater part of the fortified posts in the North of Ireland fell into the hands of the rebels. Freed from apprehension the wild multitude swooped down upon every English homestead, and thrust out the possessors to fare as best they might. It was not in the nature of things that violence should stop there. Two classes of Englishmen were specially exposed to danger—the officials who had enforced the payment of dues to the Crown, and the clergy who had drawn their maintenance from an impoverished people of another faith. From these classes victims were early chosen. A far larger number fell a sacrifice to the wild brutality of ferocious and excited mobs than to any deliberate purpose of vengeance. Worst of all were the deeds of the Maguires in Fermanagh. Exasperated by the imprisonment of Lord Maguire, they killed, if report spoke truly, no less than three hundred English on the first day of the outbreak. Even when the leaders of the natives were inclined to spare the prisoners, they were unable to secure them against the brutality of their followers. It sometimes happened that the guard appointed to conduct the former masters of the soil to a place of safety, was driven off by the rude country-people, and the sad procession, clogged with helpless women and children, found its close in murder. No attempt was made to bury the victims. The stripped corpses lay about till the hungry dogs left nothing but scattered bones to bleach on the ground.[1]

Violence and murder.

October. Slaughter in Fermanagh.

lion. Having examined a large mass of original material amongst the *State Papers* and the *Carte MSS.*, I have been surprised to find how, even when he has not himself gone through the work of reference to MS. authorities, he almost always contrives to hit the truth.

[1] Deposition of T. Grant, Feb. 9, 1642 (*Carte MSS.* ii. fol. 346). The deponent, who was examined on oath, says that, being in Fermanagh on Oct. 23, he heard that Mr. Champion was killed and his company murdered. He himself escaped, and, being retaken, was carried to Clones to

In Cavan, on the other hand, Philip O'Reilly, who headed the rebellion, set his face against cruelty and murder. In Belturbet, he gave leave to about 800 English settlers to carry some of their property with them. A mixed multitude of men, women, and children, set out for Dublin. "That night"—so the Rector told the story in after years—"we all lay in open field. Next day we were met by a party of the rebels, who killed some, robbed and spoiled the rest. Me they stripped to my shirt in miserable weather; my wife was not so barbarously used; both of us, with a multitude of others, hurried to Moien Hall. That night we lay in heaps, expecting every hour to be massacred." At last they reached Kilmore, where they were received by Bedell, in whose conversation they enjoyed for three weeks 'a heaven upon earth.' Three weeks later they were sent on to Dublin, where they arrived personally unhurt.[1] Another body of fugitives from the neighbourhood of Belturbet said to have amounted to 2,000, was sent on under a guard of 200 Irish. For eight or ten miles the guards performed their duty well. Then they found that the whole country-side was roused. The warm clothes of the hated English would be a precious possession in the cold winter nights which were approaching. It was but a moment's work to rush upon the helpless crowd, to strip both men and women to the skin, and to send them on in their misery. Irish women and Irish children rushed to the spoil even more savagely than the men. If compassion left to some of the poor creatures a bare rag wherewith to cover their nakedness, it was snatched away when the next hovels were reached. About a hundred perished on the way from cold and hunger. The remainder were hounded on with fiendish mockery to Dublin, the city of refuge. One who told

State of Cavan.

The fugitives from Belturbet.

be hanged, but was reprieved. He then mentions hearing of the hanging of twenty-one English prisoners at Carrigmacross, of two others at Monaghan, of the murdering of nineteen persons elsewhere. The mention of these particulars shows that he did not know of a universal massacre.

[1] Thus far the story is taken from the letter of the Bishop of Elphin to Ormond, May 4, 1682, *Carte MSS.* xxxix. 365. At the time of the Rebellion the Bishop was Rector of Belturbet.

the tale gave thanks to God that, as amongst the shipwrecked companions of St. Paul, 'some came to land on planks, some on broken pieces of the ship, so some have passed these pikes, some with torn clothes and rags, some with rolls of hay about their middles, some with sheep-skins and goat-skins, and some of the riflers themselves exchanged their tattered rags for the travellers' better clothes.'[1]

Further outrages.

Other more deliberate murders were perpetrated over the face of Northern Ireland. Protestant ministers and Protestant settlers were hung or stabbed. Unless the belief of those who escaped far outran the reality, simple death would have been to many a dearly prized relief. It was at least believed that noses and ears were cut off in sheer brutality, that women were foully outraged, and that 'some women had their hands and arms cut off, yea, jointed alive to make them confess where their money was.'[2] At Portadown a large number of persons were flung from the bridge into the river to drown. At Corbridge a similar tragedy was enacted. Tales of unimaginable brutality were afterwards collected from the mouths of those who had escaped from those awful scenes —tales swollen, we may hope and believe, by the credulity of fear, and which were often exaggerated by the credulity of superstition. The same testimony that was taken as evidence of the murders was taken as evidence of the visible appearance of the ghosts of the murdered. Statements were collected from excited fugitives, ready to believe the worst, and to tell all that they had heard, as well as all that they knew, perhaps under pressure from Commissioners who were anxious that the story which they elicited should be as horrible as it could be. It does not, however, follow that all was pure invention or the result of credulity. There is nothing to make the commission

[1] *A Brief Declaration of the Barbarous and Inhuman Dealing of the Northern Irish Rebels.* By G. S., Minister of God's Word in Ireland, E. 181. This was written soon after the Rebellion broke out, and has about it a moderation which inspires confidence. It is probable that the number of the fugitives is over-estimated, and it is possible that some of the 800 mentioned by the Bishop of Elphin made part of the body.

[2] This is from the *Brief Declaration.*

of these barbarous actions antecedently improbable, and the historian may be content to record his belief that if any truthful narrative of those days could be recovered, it would be found to support neither the views of those who argue that the tales of unnatural cruelty are entirely to be rejected, nor of those who would admit every one of them as satisfactorily proved.[1] Terrible as these scenes were, the victims were for the most part those who were driven naked through the cold November nights amidst a population which refused to them a scanty covering or a morsel of food in their hour of trial. To the Irish it seemed mercy enough when no actual blow was struck against the flying rout. Men hardly beyond middle age could remember the days when Mountjoy had harried Ulster, and when the sunken eye and the pallid cheek of those who had been dearest to them had told too surely of the pitiless might of the Englishman.

How many persons were murdered?

Of the number of the persons murdered at the beginning of the outbreak it is impossible to speak with even approximate certainty. Clarendon speaks of 40,000, and wilder estimates still give 200,000 or even 300,000. Even the smallest number is ridiculously impossible. The estimated numbers of the Scots in Ulster were 100,000, and of the English only 20,000. For the time the Scots were spared. In Fermanagh, where the victims fared most badly, a Puritan officer boasted not long afterwards that he had rescued 6,000. Thousands of robbed and plundered fugitives escaped with their lives to find shelter in Dublin. On the whole, it would be safe to conjecture that the number of those slain in cold blood at the beginning of the rebellion could hardly have much

[1] Mr. Gilbert, in the *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, has given an account of the celebrated *Depositions*. They will, however, soon be accessible in print, as they are being edited by Miss Mary Hickson. I am sorry that I have been unable to procure a sight of them before sending these pages to the press. Mr. Sanford (*Studies*, 429), speaking of the alleged appearance of ghosts, says :—"Because the terrified witnesses deposed to having seen this, we are therefore," he is writing ironically, "to believe that no massacres took place ; as if the very fact of their imaginations being wrought up to fancying such sights were not the strongest proof that some horrible deed had been perpetrated in their presence."

exceeded four or five thousand,[1] whilst about twice that number may have perished from ill-treatment. Before long the tale of woe from Ireland would resound through England, in a wildly exaggerated form. The letters read at Westminster on November 11 showed that even the full extent of the real calamity was as yet unknown in Dublin ; but they told of Englishmen being spoiled and slain, and they declared that, if substantial relief were not soon afforded, Ireland would be lost and all its Protestant population would be destroyed. This was all that needed to be told in English ears. The Remonstrance was flung aside for a time, and the energy of both Houses was directed to the suppression of the Irish Rebellion. The younger Vane moved that the House should go into committee to consider a present supply for Ireland. Henry Marten and his irreconcilable friends declared against him, but this time Vane's Episcopalian opponents ranged themselves by his side,[2] and he carried his motion by 98 to 68. As soon as the committee had been formed, Strode called out that the debate should be postponed till the Remonstrance had been circulated in the country.[3] The House wanted to hear about Ireland, and not about the Remonstrance. It voted that 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse should be sent from England, and that the Scots should be asked to furnish 10,000 men, instead of the 1,000 which had been originally proposed. To all this the Lords

Nov 11. Reception at Westminster of the news from Ireland.

[1] Warner (297) gives 4,028 as the number of all those stated, on every evidence, to have been murdered, and about twice as many to have perished in other ways. This was upon evidence collected within two years, and probably includes later murders. Miss Hickson tells me that she estimates from the depositions the whole number slain and allowed to die of starvation in the first two or three years as 20,000 or 25,000. The lesser estimate would not be far above Warner's statement, which refers to a shorter period of time, and gives 12,000 in all. Compare Mr. Lecky's investigations (*Hist. of Engl.* ii. 145).

[2] Strangways was one of his tellers.

[3] Mr. Strode, says D'Ewes, 'moved against the order of this Committee that,' &c. In order to make this more dramatic, Mr. Forster turned this into "Sir, I move against the order of the Committee that," &c. Of course D'Ewes meant that Strode was out of order.

gave their assent, as well as to so much of the Instructions to the Committee in Scotland as referred to the military arrangements. But they resolved to postpone to a more convenient season the consideration of the Additional Instruction, which was intended to limit the King's constitutional power of appointing ministers without the consent of Parliament.[1] It seemed as if Pym would fail in securing the support of either House for the constitutional change which he had proposed.

The Lords postpone the debate on the Additional Instruction.

The next day the tide was running in the same direction. The Commons had voted that 2,000 English troops should be sent at once, under Sir Simon Harcourt. They were then asked to request that the Scots should cross the sea at the same time. In this way the balance of force would be altered in favour of Puritanism. The Episcopalians took alarm, and proposed to limit the demand to 1,000. They carried their point by the large majority of 112 to 77.[2]

Nov. 12. Proposed Scottish force for Ireland.

Reliance on Scottish assistance was plainly not popular even in the House of Commons. The Common Council of the City was ready to support Pym. It declared its readiness to lend the sum which was needed for the Irish expedition. It asked in return for relief from certain grievances. Members of Parliament, especially the members of the House of Lords, had been in the habit of granting protections to their servants, to shield them from their creditors. What had been but a temporary inconvenience to a City tradesman, when the longest session seldom exceeded six months, became a formidable burden in times when no one could tell through how many years a single session might be prolonged. On this matter the Commons were not likely to stand in the way of justice, and they pushed forward a Bill which was intended to remedy the

The City ready to lend.

Protections.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 435. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 132 b.

[2] The meaning of the division is evident from the names of the tellers—Hopton and Strangways for the majority, Erle and Marten for the minority.

evil. Having first set forth their own complaints, the citizens asked that the persons of the Catholic Lords might be secured, and that the bishops, who were the main obstacles to the passage of good laws in the Upper House, might be deprived of their votes. If this declaration expressed the real sense of the City, all the efforts of Charles's partisans to win London to their side would be made in vain.

The City declares against the Catholic Lords and the bishops.

The declaration of the City was the turning-point in the struggle. It came just after the impeached bishops had put in their answer in the House of Lords. It may be that the discovery that the City supported Pym's views influenced some votes in the Commons. At all events, on the 13th they not only voted that the bishops' answer was frivolous, but they reconsidered their determination to restrict the immediate supply of Scottish troops to 1,000. They now resolved to ask for as many as 5,000, though 3,000 had been thought too much on the day before. Before night this proposal was agreed to by the Lords.[1]

Nov. 13. The Commons follow Pym's lead.

In these last conflicts Hampden had been once more by the side of Pym. He had left Fiennes behind him at Edinburgh, and had hastened back to throw himself heart and soul into the Parliamentary struggle. With him there was no looking back. What he had seen in Scotland seems to have confirmed him in the belief that Charles could not be trusted.

Hampden at Westminster.

As soon as the immediate wants of Ireland had been provided for, the Remonstrance was once more taken up. On the 15th and 16th it finally passed through committee.[2] As might have been expected, the only real struggle was over the ecclesiastical clauses. One of these, as originally drawn, complained of the errors and superstitions to be found in the Prayer Book. The Episcopalians

Nov. 16. The Remonstrance through committee.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. 142 b.

[2] These were the third and fourth sittings. Mr. Forster intercalates (*The Grand Remonstrance*, 205) a fierce and long debate on the 12th which never existed except in his own imagination. The Commons were engaged on that day in discussing the question of sending troops to Ireland.

mustered in such strength that their opponents were fain to submit to the excision of these words. They then proposed an amendment justifying the use of the Prayer Book 'till the laws had otherwise provided.' This alteration, however, they failed to carry, though they succeeded in preventing the insertion of an announcement that the Commons intended to dispose of the lands of the bishops and deans. Equally balanced as the parties appeared to be, the next effort of the Episcopalians was signally defeated. A statement that the bishops had brought idolatry and Popery into the Church was opposed by Dering, but was retained by the large majority of 124 to 99. The probable explanation is, that some members were in favour of the retention of the Prayer Book, who were not unwilling to pass a bitter condemnation on the past proceedings of the bishops.[1]

During the last two days the attention of the House had not been entirely absorbed by the Remonstrance. The horrors of the Irish Rebellion had revived the belief in a great Popish Plot for the extinction of Protestantism in the three kingdoms. There was doubtless a singular opportuneness in the circulation of the rumours which sprang up just at the time when the fate of the Remonstrance was at stake, and it is quite possible that Pym and Hampden did not at this moment care to scrutinise so closely the tales which reached their ears as they might under other circumstances have done. But it must not be forgotten that a real plot existed; and with Pym's knowledge of much—we cannot tell of how much—of the Queen's subtlest intrigues, he could hardly venture to disregard any information, however trivial it might seem.

Nov. 15. The supposed Popish Plot.

On the 15th the Speaker informed the House that two priests had been taken. The House ordered that they should be proceeded against according to law. In the meanwhile

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 153. All through his notes of this debate, D'Ewes speaks of his opponents as the party of Episcopacy, or the Episcopalian party. The words are in cypher, and have not been noticed by Mr. Forster. Mr. Sanford (*Studies*, 137) mentions them, but does not appear to have seized their importance.

the Lords were engaged in examining one Thomas Beale, a tailor, who asserted that he had overheard some persons talking of their intention to murder no less than 108 members of the two Houses, and of a general rising to take place on the 18th.[1] Further inquiry was ordered by the Lords, where the majority was, at all events, not Puritan. After that, a letter was read in the Commons, to the effect that fresh fortifications had been raised at Portsmouth, that a Frenchman had been constantly passing up and down between that town and Oatlands—in other words, between Goring and the Queen—and that, lastly, 'the Papists and jovial clergymen there were merrier than ever.'[2]

Nov. 15. Two priests captured.

Rumours of plots.

The Commons resolved to prepare an ordinance for putting the trained bands in a posture of defence under Essex in the south and Holland in the north, "and for securing the persons of the prime Papists." The Lords recoiled from trenching so far upon the authority of the King, and it was only after some hesitation that they agreed to bring in a Bill to give effect to the wishes of the other House in respect to the recusants, whilst they amended the ordinance by the insertion of words implying that no powers were conferred upon Essex and Holland in excess of those which had been given to them by the King's commission.[3]

Nov. 17. Precautions recommended by the Commons.

Nothing could be made of Beale's story. Goring, being summoned to give an account of the state of Portsmouth, unblushingly declared that there was no truth whatever in the current rumours.[4] Other charges against the Court could neither be denied nor explained away. On the 17th the evidence was read before the House of Commons, which put it beyond doubt that, in the second Army Plot, Legg had been the bearer of a petition to which the King's initials were affixed, in which the soldiers were expected to express their detestation of the leading members,

Nov. 17. Charles inculpated.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 439.
[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 151 b.
[3] *L. J.* iv. 445–450.
[4] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 167 b.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM BROCKLEY BRANCH PUBLIC

and to declare their readiness to march to London to suppress the tumults which those leaders had raised.[1]

Belief of the House in the second Army Plot.

The reading of this and other evidence was followed by a vote that it was proved 'that there was a second design to bring up the army against the Parliament, and an intention to make the Scottish army stand as neutral.'[2]

No doubt the production of this charge at such a moment was intended by Pym to influence the voting on the Remonstrance. In fact, its truth formed the strongest argument in behalf of the unusual course which he was taking. In the face of a King who had recently appealed to military force, and who would soon have an opportunity of appealing to it again, it was necessary somewhat to shift the balance of the constitution. No doubt Charles might reply that he had only called on the army to repress tumults. The answer was obvious, that the tumults had been subsequent to a former appeal to the army.[3]

Nov. 20. Expectation that there will be no great debate on the Remonstrance.

The way having thus been cleared, the House was ready for its last debate on the amended Remonstrance. There had been some intention of bringing the Remonstrance forward on the 20th. But the hour was late before it was reached. Its opponents asked for delay. Its supporters did not anticipate much further trouble. "Why," said Cromwell to Falkland, "would you have it put off?" "There would not have been time enough," was the reply, "for sure it will take some debate." "A very sorry one," said Cromwell, contemptuously.[4] He did not reckon on the resistance which would be aroused by the proposal to appeal to the people apart from the statements contained in the Remon-

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 157 b.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 318.

[3] Mr. Forster here introduces a debate on the Remonstrance as taking place on the 19th. Neither the *Journals* nor D'Ewes know anything of any such debate. Among Dering's speeches, indeed, there is one said to have been delivered on the 19th; but internal evidence shows this to have been a misprint for the 16th.

[4] *Clarendon*, iv, 51. This cannot, of course, be taken for more than a mere reminiscence.

strance itself. In the end it was resolved that the reading of the manifesto of the Commons should be proceeded with at once, but that the debate on it should be fixed for the 22nd.[1]

At noon on the appointed day the discussion opened. Some few alterations, for the most part merely verbal, were made, but in the main the Remonstrance was to be accepted or rejected as it stood when it left the committee. A special attempt to expunge the clause which spoke of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill in terms of commendation, was made and failed. In the general debate the speeches of the Royalist-Episcopalian party are disappointing to the reader. Hyde positively declared that the narrative part of the Remonstrance was true, and in his opinion modestly expressed, but that he thought it a pity to go back so far in the history of the reign. Falkland complained of the hard measure dealt out to the bishops and Arminians. Dering took the same line. Many bishops, he said, had brought in superstition, but not one idolatry. If the prizes of the lottery, as he called the bishoprics, were taken away, few would care to acquire learning.

Nov. 22. Final debate on the Remonstrance.

Arguments of its opponents.

Culpepper, for whom the ecclesiastical side of the question had little attraction, argued that the Commons had no right to draw up such a Remonstrance without the concurrence of the Lords, and no right at all to send it abroad amongst the people. Such a course, he said, was "dangerous to the public peace."

Such arguments were effective enough as criticism; but they were not the arguments of statesmen. Not one of these speakers even sketched out a policy for the future. Not one of them took any comprehensive view of the difficulties of the situation, or gave the slightest hint of the manner in which he proposed to deal with them.

Their weakness.

Against such speakers as these Pym's defence was easy. "The honour of the King," he said, "lies in the safety of the people, and we must tell the truth. The plots have been very near the King, all driven home to the Court and the Popish party." Culpepper's constitutional lore

Pym's speech.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 178 b.

had ignored this important fact. Then turning to the fears which he knew to be felt amongst his opponents, Pym expressed his readiness that a law should 'be made against sectaries,' though he could not refrain from adding that many of the separatists who had emigrated to America had been driven from England for refusing to read the Book of Sports. "The Popish lords and bishops," he went on to say, "do obstruct us. . . . We have suffered so much by counsellors of the King's choosing that we desire him to advise with us about it, and many of his servants move him about them, and why may not the Parliament? Altar-worship is idolatry, and that was enforced by the bishops in all their cathedrals. This declaration will bend the people's hearts to us, when they see how we have been used."[1]

Continuance of the debate.

After Pym sat down, the debate rolled on. But there was nothing of consequence to be added to what had been already said. Men were divided against one another, not so much by what was expressed in their speeches as by what was not expressed. Neither party would trust the other to model the Church according to its will.

The Remonstrance passed.

Question of printing it.

The hot debate lasted till midnight. Candles had long ago been brought in, and it was by their dim and flickering light that the fateful vote was taken. The Ayes were 159; the Noes 148. The majority was but 11.[2] Peard, a strongly Puritan member, moved that the Remonstrance should be printed. The proposal meant that what had all along been intended by its framers should be carried into instant execution. It was to be sent forth as an appeal to the nation against the King. Hyde and Culpepper had already made up their minds as to the course to be taken.[3]

Hyde and Culpepper protest.

As soon as the division was announced they offered to enter their protestations. They were told that without the consent of the House it might not be done. The proposal for printing was then waived for the time,

[1] *Verney Notes*, 121.

[2] Mr. Forster (*Grand Rem.* 316) completely disposes of Clarendon's assertion that many on his side had left the House before the vote.

[3] Nicholas to the King, Nov. 22. *Evelyn's Memoirs*, ii. App. 80.

and it seemed as if that long and stormy meeting would at last find an end.

The adjournment of the dispute was not enough for Geoffry Palmer. He rose to press the motion for the entry of a protest "in the name of himself and all the rest." In the excited temper of the minority, these rash words kindled a blaze of enthusiasm. Shouts of "All! All!" rose from every side. Some waved their hats wildly in the air. Others "took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts and held them by their pommels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground."[1] "I thought," wrote an eye-witness,[2] "we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catched at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels."

Palmer's protest.

From this terrible catastrophe the House was saved by Hampden's presence of mind. In a dry, practical way, he asked Palmer 'how he could know other men's minds.'[3] The excited and wrathful crowd had their attention thus called away from the general question of the right to protest to the particular question of Palmer's right to speak in their names. Reason had time to re-assert its power, and all further discussion was postponed to another day. At the then unprecedented

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 180.

[2] Sir Philip Warwick.

[3] This is all that D'Ewes says. Mr. Forster treated a remark of the note-taker's own as part of Hampden's speech. It is sad that a writer to whom all students of the period owe so much, can never be trusted in details. In a note at the foot of p. 320, Mr. Forster mentions D'Ewes's allusion to Hampden's "serpentine subtlety" as made on June 10. He should have said the 11th (*Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 306 b). What is of greater importance is, that he agrees with Mr. Sandford in omitting to notice that the passage contains irrefragible evidence of having been written long after the date under which it is inserted, so that it has no weight as contemporary evidence. "Mr. Edward Hyde," wrote D'Ewes, "a young barrister of the Middle Temple (knighted afterwards upon the 25th day of March, 1643), made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor." It is evident from this that D'Ewes's remark was a mere afterthought after he had separated politically from Hampden. This may prove a warning against placing implicit reliance on D'Ewes's comments on persons.

hour of four in the morning the members poured forth unharmed.[1]

As they trooped out, Falkland asked Cromwell, 'whether there had been a debate.' "I will take your word for it another time," was the answer. "If the Remonstrance had been rejected, I would have sold all I had the next morning, and never have seen England any more; and I know there are many other honest men of this same resolution."[2]

Cromwell and Falkland.

It is likely enough that the two men never exchanged words again. With all his largeness of heart, Falkland had shrunk back, as Sir Thomas More had shrunk back before him, from the heat and dust of conflict, and had narrowed his intellect within the formalities of a Hyde and a Culpepper. Cromwell saw but part of the issue before his country, but what he saw he saw thoroughly. The strong Puritan faith of himself, and of those who felt as he did, was not to be crushed down by constitutional traditions. What was fair and just to those who cherished the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England he did not care to inquire; but he had clearly made up his mind what was to be done for those who regarded that doctrine and discipline as no more than another name for superstition. If the King and the House of Lords told them that there was no place for them in the English Church, they would appeal to the nation itself. If that appeal were made in vain, there was shelter for them beyond the Atlantic.

The Grand Remonstrance was to these men something far greater than a constitutional document. For them it was a challenge put forward on behalf of a religious faith. It is in vain to regret that the struggle which was at hand was not to be waged on mere political grounds. Political constitutions are valuable so far as they allow free play to the mental and spiritual forces of a nation. If each side in the conflict was in the right when it stood on the defensive, each side was in the wrong when it took the offensive.

No king, said one party, shall rob us of our religion. No

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 179.

[2] *Clarendon*, iv. 52.

Parliamentary majority, said the other party, shall rob us of our religion. It was this, and this only, which gave to the great struggle its supreme importance. Neither party was contending for victory alone. Both were contending as well for that which was to them a Divine order of things in the world. No voice—alas! not even Falkland's—was raised to direct them to that more excellent way which might have led them in the paths of peace.

The Civil War was all the nearer for that night's work. It was the apprehension of this that roused the deeper feelings of the members in the discussion on the right of protest. The majority had made up their minds on the subject. On the 25th it was voted that Palmer should be sent to the Tower. There he remained for twelve days, after which he was released on making submission to the House. The question of the right of protest seemed to be sufficiently settled in this practical way, and for some time nothing further was said about the matter.

Nov. 25. Palmer ordered to be sent to the Tower.

CHAPTER CII.

BALANCED FORCES.

Amongst the minority which had opposed the Remonstrance there were doubtless those who would still have admitted that some modification of Episcopacy, some reconsideration of the ceremonial observances of the Church, or even of its doctrinal formulas, might be advisable. But whether such as these were few or many, they could have no hope of success. In rallying round Charles they had planted themselves, whether they intended it or not, on the ground of resistance to all change. The King was now to be amongst them once more. All difficulties had been removed at Edinburgh by the simple process of his own complete surrender.

1641. Return of Charles.

Argyle had returned, with Hamilton and Lanark, as the undoubted master of the State. Offices were disposed of as he wished to dispose of them. What Pym was aiming at in England, was thoroughly realised in Scotland. Argyle's power rested on those very classes, the representatives of the counties and boroughs, which made up the House of Commons at Westminster. Against this strongly consolidated authority, the high feudal nobility raged in vain. Argyle was too politic to misuse his victory. Not only was the King declared to be totally guiltless of any share in the Incident, but there was a complete amnesty to all directly or indirectly concerned in it. Montrose and his friends were liberated from prison. Even Crawford found himself unexpectedly at liberty. Titles were scattered amongst the winners with a lavish hand. Argyle became a marquis and Hamilton a duke. The uncultivated old soldier, Alexander

Argyle's position in Scotland.

Leslie, to whom was due so much of the discipline which had served his country in good stead, had already taken his seat in Parliament as Earl of Leven.

When Charles prepared to travel southward he knew that Pym was resolute to obtain from him those concessions which he had been compelled to make to Argyle. It is needless to say that he would feel far more degraded in becoming a merely nominal King of England than he had felt in becoming a merely nominal King of Scotland. He knew, too, that his chance of resisting was far greater in England than it had been in Scotland. In the North the nation was practically one in religion, and its union in religion had been the cement which had bound together the Parliamentary Opposition before which Charles had succumbed at Edinburgh. In the South the nation was divided in religion. Charles, therefore, might hope to put himself at the head of a party strong in the nation itself, as well as strong within the walls of Parliament.

Its similarity with that claimed by Pym.

It is impossible to say with any certainty what was the precise form which the future took in Charles's mind as he travelled southward. It is probable enough that he had himself no clear perception, at least of the details of his own projects. But it is not likely that he had fixed his heart upon the sweeping away of all that had been done since the meeting of Parliament, the revival of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, or the revival of ship-money and monopolies. Not only was his mind one which loved to dwell as much as possible on the technical legality of his actions; but the contest in which he was now engaged was to be fought out on other issues than those which had been the object of struggle in the summer. The law as it stood gave him all that he needed to maintain the passive resistance which seemed enough to hinder those changes in the Church against which he had set his face. Legally, the majority of the Commons could do nothing without the consent of the House of Lords, and that consent they had for the time not the slightest chance of obtaining. To gain popularity and to wait till the majority in the Commons had made some mistake, was no doubt a policy fraught with danger, like all policy of mere obstruction; but it was un-

Charles's intentions.

doubtedly far more prudent than any recurrence to those ill-starred plots upon which Charles's hopes had been wrecked before.

Even this course, however, required patience, and Charles had little patience; whilst his wife, under whose influence he would now again come, had less. To both of them Pym and Hampden were not merely leaders of a political Opposition to be defeated, but traitors to be punished. If the hope of obtaining in Scotland undeniable evidence of their share in the invitation of the Scottish army into England had been baffled, there was proof enough of treasonable conduct since. If Strafford had been sent to the block for attempting to alter the constitution, had not these men done as much? Had they not reduced the authority of the King to its lowest ebb? Were they not striving by the Bill for the exclusion of the bishops to beat down the true majority in the House of Lords? Had they not made use of the moment of danger in Ireland to threaten their Sovereign that, unless he would abandon his acknowledged right of selecting his counsellors at his pleasure, they would take out of his hands the management of the Irish war, and thereby place themselves in a position of military supremacy? It can hardly be doubted that Charles contemplated, long before his arrival in England, some course of action which would rid him of his enemies under the forms of law, as the Commons under the forms of law had rid themselves of Strafford.

Popularity to be regained.

The City of London.

Of such a course the first condition was to regain popularity, and of all places where popularity would be most useful the City of London was the first. Standing relatively higher in population and wealth in the seventeenth than it stands in the nineteenth century, its organisation gave it, in the absence of an organised national army, an influence to which there is nothing to be compared at the present day. The loans of the London citizens alone had made it possible for the House of Commons to disband the armies; and without the loans of the London citizens the House would find it impossible to provide for a campaign in Ireland. It was manifestly of the first consequence to the King to win London to his side.

Although the recent expression of the wishes of the Common Council for the expulsion of the bishops was not of favourable omen, the wealthy citizens were now drawing towards Charles. There was the natural distrust for political disturbance felt by men engaged in wide-reaching commerce, and there was doubtless a contemptuous dislike of the petty tradesmen and apprentices who were crowding to the meetings in which illiterate members of their own class expounded the Scriptures in a wild and incoherent fashion. The new Lord Mayor, Gurney, was a strong Royalist, and the great majority of the aldermen were of the same way of thinking. When, therefore, it was announced that the King would do honour to the City by passing through it on his way to Westminster, it was resolved that he should be welcomed at a magnificent banquet at Guildhall.

The wealthy citizens on Charles's side.

November 25 was the day appointed. The reception prepared for the King was not to be one of those spontaneous outbursts of enthusiasm with which the present age is familiar. The municipal authorities were accustomed to organise their ceremonies as they organised everything else. The attire of members of the City companies, the truncheons and the torches of the footmen, the tapestry to be hung by the householders upon the walls, the bells to be rung, and the bonfires to be lighted, were all prescribed by order.[1] Yet it is probable that even without these directions there would have been enthusiasm enough. There was a fund of loyalty in the hearts of the citizens; and the compliment paid to London for the first time in the reign would have made Charles popular in the City, if it were only for a moment.

Organisation of the ceremonial.

Charles was well prepared. To gain the City, he had been told, was to dethrone King Pym, as the Royalists were now beginning to call the great Parliamentary leader. Let him assure the citizens that he would voluntarily abandon to them the forfeited lands in Londonderry, and that he would do his utmost to discountenance the hateful protections given by the Lords, and

[1] *Common Council Journal Book*, Nov. 19, 23, 24, vol. xxxix. fol. 245 b, 246 b, 252 b.

they would spontaneously rally to his side. The command over the army in Ireland would fall into the King's hands.[1]

It was not much that the King had to offer; nothing but what the Commons had been ready to do. Yet he played his part well. Bringing with him the Queen, who had joined him at Theobalds, he was met on his entrance to the City by a stately cavalcade. Amidst loud and enthusiastic shouts of welcome, he assured his hosts that he would give back Londonderry and everything else which they desired. He hoped, with the assistance of Parliament, to re-establish that flourishing trade which was now in some disorder. He had come back with a hearty affection to his people in general. He would govern them according to the laws, and would maintain 'the Protestant religion as it had been established in the times of Elizabeth and his father.' "This," he added, "I will do, if need be, to the hazard of my life and all that is dear to me."

The King's entrance.

In these words Charles took up the challenge of the Remonstrance. What Nicholas had been ordered to circulate privately amongst the peers was now announced in open day. There was to be no surrender, no attempt to conciliate opponents, no place for Puritanism in the English Church. Yet even in this definite call to battle words were heard ominous of failure. "I see," said Charles, "that all these former tumults and disorders have only risen from the meaner sort of people, and that the affections of the better and main part of the City have ever been loyal and affectionate to my person and government." It was cha-

Charles takes up the challenge.

Thinks that the better sort are on his side.

[1] These unsigned recommendations are amongst the *State Papers*, written on the same paper with a letter dated Oct. 23, but evidently themselves written after Nov. 8. They contain the first mention that I have found of the phrase "King Pym." If the City is gained by the King, it is said, it will be 'engaged to stand by him against the Irish Rebellion; and whereas King Pym will undertake the Irish war, if he may have the disposal of all the English Councillors and Officers of State, His Majesty may refuse those propositions with safety, having now gained the City; for if any such bargain should go on with King Pym, he cannot undertake anything without the City, and, by the way the King is, hath enabled himself to do the work.'

racteristic of him to rest upon the organisation of society rather than on the spiritual forces by which society is inspired.

The applause of the citizens.

That day, at least, no shade passed over Charles's self-satisfaction. The Lord Mayor was knighted, and rose up Sir Richard Gurney. Amidst shouts, perhaps heartfelt enough at the time, of "God bless and long live King Charles and Queen Mary!" the Royal pair were conducted to Guildhall. The conduits in Cornhill and Cheapside ran with claret. At last the stately procession reached its destination. There was a splendid banquet and another gorgeous procession through the streets, amidst fresh acclamations from the crowd. That night Charles slept again at Whitehall.[1]

[1] *Nalson*, ii. 674. According to the verses by J. H., printed with *King Charles, his Entertainment* (E. 177), the King's partisans expected from him three things; the lowering of the pretensions of the majority of the Commons, a check to Popery, and the overthrow of the sects.

> "Those demy powers of Parliament which strove,
> In our King's absence, to express their love
> And care of us his subjects, now shall find
> A Royal guerdon; those that were inclined
> To practise mischief, of this judge shall have
> A regal judgment and a legal grave.
> Religion that in blankets late was tost,
> Banded, abused, in seeking almost lost,
> Shall now be married, and her spouse adore;
> She now shall hate that Babylonish whore
> That's drunk with mischief, likewise that presect
> That left the Church, for fear it should infect
> Their purer outsides, those that likewise cry,
> To bow at Jesus is idolatry.
> Brownists, Arminians, Separatists, and those
> Which to the Common Prayer are mortal foes,
> And cry a surplice, tippet, or a cope,
> Or else a relic of the Pope.
> All these shall have their wishes, they shall see
> The Church now cleansed from all impurity."

The line threatening 'a regal judgment and a legal grave' has special significance. It would show, if nothing else did, that the plan of impeaching the Parliamentary leaders was already floating before the minds of Charles's followers. The whole passage is worthy of study. In my opinion it expresses the mind of the King's party far better than the

Charles's first step was to dismiss the guard which had been placed round the two Houses, under command of Essex, whose commission had expired at the King's return. At this the Commons took umbrage, and induced the Lords to join them in a petition requesting that the guard might remain till they had time to give reasons for its retention. The King replied that 'to secure them not only from real, but even imaginary dangers,' he had ordered Dorset to appoint some of the trained bands to guard them for a few days, to give them time to prepare their reasons. If he were then convinced, he would continue this protection to them, and also take such a course as might be fit for the safety of his own person.[1]

The King dismisses the Parliamentary guard.

Nov. 26.

Nov. 27.

Dorset's guard.

Before this answer reached the Commons the House was deeply agitated. Strode, ever impetuous, had moved for putting the kingdom in 'a posture of defence, and for the commanding of the arms thereof.'[2] Mutual distrust had already produced the thought of an appeal to arms. The idea of that Militia Bill on which the breach finally came, was already to be traced in Strode's words.

Nov. 28.

The germ of the Militia Bill.

In the temper in which men were, a collision sooner or later was inevitable. It almost came on the evening of the 29th. A crowd of Londoners thronged Palace Yard, armed with swords and staves. They shouted "No bishops!" at Sir John Strangways, and called on him to vote against the bishops. Dorset angrily bade his men give fire. Fortunately the order was disobeyed, and the crowd dispersed without bloodshed. The next day there was grave complaint in the House. To one party the behaviour of Dorset seemed utterly intolerable. To the other the insolence of the mob seemed no less intolerable. Strangways and Kirton charged Venn, one of the members for the City, with having sent for citizens to come armed to support the popular members as long ago as the 24th, the day on which Palmer had been called in

Nov. 29.

Dorset orders the guard to fire.

Nov. 30.

Venn charged with inviting the mob to Westminster.

ordinary talk of constitutional historians, about changes having gone far enough.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 452, 453, 455.

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 191 b.

question. It is by no means unlikely that the charge was true. It was met by the countercharge from Pym, 'that he was informed that there was a conspiracy by some members of this House to accuse other members of the same of treason.'[1]

Suspicion that members were to be charged with treason.

Measures which to one party seemed to be imperatively required in sheer self-defence seemed mere unprovoked aggression in the eyes of the other. Chillingworth, to whom for the moment the supreme danger would be that which was to be dreaded from the intolerance of Puritanism, was charged with spreading a rumour that the 'party who were against Mr. Palmer would be questioned for so great a treason as the Earl of Strafford.'[2] In truth, it was easy to persuade Royalists that those who were assailing the fundamental laws of the Church were as guilty as he who had assailed the fundamental laws of the State.

Chillingworth accused.

Pym replied in a long array of reasons by which he proposed to support the demand for a guard in which the House could confide. He spoke of the design formed in Scotland to kill some of the Members of Parliament, and of a similar design in London. To this, he said, the more credit was to be given from the discovery of the former plot to bring up the army against Parliament. Then, too, there was the conspiracy in Ireland, and the rumours that this, too, had branches in England. There were also reports from beyond the seas that there would soon be a great alteration in religion, 'and the necks of both the Parliaments will be broken.' Scarcely had these reasons been presented to the House when it was ascertained that Dorset's men had been withdrawn. The Commons at once took the matter into their

Pym's reasons for demanding a guard.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 200. Compare a statement in the *Clarendon MSS.* (1542), I suppose by Hyde, of what he was ready to prove. He says that Venn's wife showed a letter brought unto her by one of the members of the House from her husband, and that he had witnesses to prove his assertions, 'who were many days attending at the door to justify' his statements, 'but they never would call him in, although I moved it often.'

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 199 b.

own hands. At Pym's motion, two members, who happened to be justices of the peace for Westminster, were directed to set a watch. The House thus put itself under the protection of the local authorities.

The Lords protest against tumultuous assemblies.

The Lords were less anxious to be safely guarded against the King's designs; but they applied to the Commons to join them in a declaration prohibiting the concourse of armed multitudes at Westminster.[1]

Amidst fears and menaces on every side, a deputation from the Commons carried the Remonstrance to the King at Hampton Court. In a petition which accompanied it Charles was warned against the designs of the corrupt and ill-affected party, which was aiming at the alteration of religion and government. He was asked to concur in legislation aimed at the exclusion of the bishops from Parliament, and at the removal of the abuses which had been fomented by them. In this way he would unite together all such as joined 'in the same fundamental truths against the Papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary ceremonies by which divers weak consciences' had 'been scrupled and seemed to be divided from the rest.' The demand for counsellors agreeable to Parliament was renewed, and to it was added a special request that Charles would abstain from granting away any forfeited lands in Ireland, in order that they might serve as the basis of a fund to be applied to the expenses of the war.[2]

Dec. 1. The Remonstrance taken to the King with an accompanying petition.

Its reception by the King.

Charles was in high spirits when this petition was read in his ears. He criticised its weak points, jeered at the notion that anyone had advised him to change religion, replied to the claim about Ireland that it would not be

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 201. *C. J.* ii. 327. *L. J.* iv. 329. The words of the Venetian ambassador show how completely sovereignty was at issue. The removal of the guard he says, 'porge inditio che cessato loro l'appoggio delle armi Scocesi, e le speranze di esser spallegiati da questa Città, sian per ridursi anco li più ostinati nei debiti della prima modestia e possa S. M^tà ripigliare il giusto possesso dell' autorità goduta da predecessori suoi.'—Giustinian to the Doge, Dec. $\frac{3}{13}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

[2] *Rushworth*, iv. 437.

well to sell the bear's skin before it was dead, and, after trying in vain to extract from the deputation an engagement that the Remonstrance should not be published, dismissed them with the promise that he would give an answer after he had taken time for consideration.

There can be little doubt that Charles had made up his mind to resist, and that he fully expected that resistance would be successful. The day after the Remonstrance had been handed over to him he came to Westminster to give the royal assent to a Bill for the renewal of tonnage and poundage for three months. In the presence of the two Houses, he spoke scornfully of the misplaced alarm under which the Commons were suffering, and after an allusion to his joyful reception in the City, he expressed a hope that his presence would dispel all their fears. He was resolved not only to maintain all the acts of the existing Parliament, but to 'grant what else can be justly desired in point of liberties or in maintenance of the true religion that is here established.' He then announced that commissioners had arrived from Scotland to treat about the relief of Ireland, and expressed a hope that in this matter there would be no delay.[1]

Dec. 2. The King's speech.

The position of legal resistance to violent change was the strongest which Charles could possibly assume now, as it had been the strongest which he could possibly have assumed in the days of Strafford's trial. Unfortunately to maintain it, now as then, required a stronger will and a more masterful temper than was ever at his disposal. Now as then, the rash eagerness of his wife, and the passionate zeal of heated partisans, would see in the tumultuous gatherings of the crowd at Westminster, a provocation to be met by an appeal to violence, instead of a call to the most scrupulous abstention from every indication of a readiness to resort to the use of force. Yet even with every wish to remain on constitutional ground, it is hardly likely that Charles would have been a match for Pym. He had played too long with the wild machinations of the Queen to gain credit for a resolution to abide even by

Charles's position of resistance.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 459.

that system of passive resistance which was, after all, the dearest to his heart. The majority of the Commons were sore at the treatment which the Remonstrance had received at the King's hands on the preceding day, and at the language which had just been addressed to them from the throne in the House of Lords. They felt no inclination to accept Charles's promise to grant 'what else can be justly desired' as a sufficient guarantee that his future action would be more in accordance with their wishes than his past conduct had been. Above all, the conduct of Dorset irritated and alarmed them. That and not the King's address was the first object of their thoughts. The House left the Royal presence to wrangle over the question whether Dorset or the crowd had been to blame.[1] Disinterested lookers-on saw that, whichever might be to blame, parties were too inflamed to settle down in peace. "Within ten days," wrote the French ambassador, "one side or the other will suffer a reverse."[2]

Dec. 3. Constitutional questions raised.

The events which were thus rapidly unfolding themselves have afforded a favourite battle-field to constitutional lawyers and historians. On the one hand, it is easy to show that the King, ostensibly at least, was standing on the defensive, and that the sovereignty claimed by the House of Commons had never been theirs, and, in the unlimited form in which they claimed it, never ought to be theirs. On the other hand, it is equally easy to show that the past history of the King's relations with the Parliament had not been such as to invite confidence in the future, and that his defensive position involved an aggression of a very practical kind, because the existing law, if it were to be enforced as Charles would legally be justified in enforcing it, condemned the ecclesiastical practices dear to the hearts of a large proportion of religious Englishmen to absolute extinction. Yet, after all has been said, it is more than doubtful whether the ink which has been employed upon this argument has not been absolutely thrown away. Constitutional rules are good because

Why it is better to pass them by.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 205.

[2] La Ferté's despatch, Dec. $\frac{2}{12}$, *Arch. des Aff. Étr.* xlviii. fol. 430.

they enforce the application of the laws by which healthy societies are governed to the details of political life in which the passions of the actors are most hotly stirred; but they cannot be made applicable to a society in which the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. The daily food of the constitution cannot be its medicine. Law and liberty, kings and parliaments, are available to a society which, in spite of wide differences of opinion and character, is in substantial unity with itself. When that unity has departed, when religious and political factions glare at one another with angry eyes, the one thing needful is not to walk in the paths of the constitution, but to restore unity. No doubt, Pym and Hyde would have agreed upon the necessity of restoring unity, but each wanted to restore it by the simple process of suppressing the religion of the other Not thus could a new order be evolved out of the ruins of the old. Religious antipathies will never bow their head before the mere remedy of force. It is only in the presence of some higher and more ennobling spiritual idea that they will sink abashed to the ground. In Elizabeth's days theological strife had been smoothed away before the common thought of patriotism in the face of the invader and the assassin. England was not in such danger now, and she needed a grander and more universal thought than patriotism, to reconcile the foes upon her soil. Because she had not yet wholly given her heart to the spirit of liberty, nor had welcomed the all-conquering charity which clears the eye and shakes the sword from the hand, therefore she was now entering into that valley of the shadow of death in which brother was to smite down brother in his blindness.

If, in the darkness, Englishman could not discern the face of Englishman, how could it be hoped that he would discern the face of the Irish Celt? His rebellion and cruelty had left no room, if there had been room before, for any remembrance of the wrongs which he had suffered. There was no thought at Westminster of the employment of any remedy in Ireland save that of force alone. And yet, as the conflict grew visibly nearer in England, the force which it would be necessary to use beyond the sea would be a danger in England as well as in Ireland. On December 3 news arrived which

Bearing of Irish affairs upon England.

brought this home to every man. Sir Phelim O'Neill had taken Armagh. The English prisoners had been stripped naked and bound hand and foot. O'Neill had exhibited 'a commission under the Broad Seal of England by which he said that he was authorised by the King to restore the Roman religion in Ireland.'[1]

Nov. 25. Sir Phelim O'Neill declares that he had been acting by the King's orders.

Such was the tale brought by a prisoner who had been allowed to escape. A later and better authenticated story told how the commission produced was under the Great Seal of Scotland, and that it was affixed to a document purporting to proceed from Charles himself, and empowering all Irish Catholics to rise in defence of the King's person, to attack all castles and forts, and to 'seize the goods, estates, and persons of all the English Protestants.' That this document was forged there can be no doubt whatever; but it does not follow that it was not forged upon the lines of a real document sent from Edinburgh by the King to the Catholic Lords, authorising them to seize the forts and to use them against the English Parliament.[2]

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. 207 b.

[2] It is printed in *Rushworth*, iv. 402. The internal evidence of the forgery is complete, as Charles would never have spoken of Protestants disparagingly. He would have said Puritans. See, too, the evidence in *Nalson*, ii. 529. Dr. Burton (*Hist. of Scotland*, vii. 160) wrote thus:—"When we find the document thus treated as an evident fabrication, there arises an obvious question—If there was a forgery for the purpose of creating a temporary delusion, why was it not in the name of the English Government, and under the great seal of England? As a warrant of sovereignty the great seal of Scotland was nothing in Ireland. If it was that only an impression of the great seal of Scotland was available, and that was considered better than no seal, the accident, when connected with what has yet to be told, is one of the strangest that ever happened. The author of a pamphlet which was published two years later, and obtained great notoriety, gave currency to the following rumour:—

"'It is said that this commission was signed with the broad seal of that kingdom, being not then settled in the hands of any officer who could be answerable for the use of it, but during the vacancy of the Chancellor's place entrusted with the Marquis Hamilton, and by him with one Mr. John Hamilton, the scribe of the cross-petitioners in Scotland, and sometimes under the care of Master Endymion Porter, a very fit opportunity for such a clandestine transaction.'

Whatever the truth might be, the effect on the House was instantaneous. At Pym's motion, a committee was appointed

"By a coincidence which, if there was no foul play, must be called unfortunate, it is known that on the 1st of October, which is the date on the commission, the great seal of Scotland happened to be in a state of transition. . . . On the 30th day of September, Loudoun was made Chancellor. . . . Though thus appointed to his office on the 30th of September, the great seal was not put into his custody until the 2nd of October."

In a note Dr. Burton points out that Endymion Porter had afterwards a hand in the celebrated affair of Lord Glamorgan, under somewhat similar circumstances. The acceptance of the evidence relating to the King's dealings with the Catholic Lords removes the difficulty of supposing that the King could possibly have sent off a document such as that which O'Neill published. The emissary of those Lords was Lord Dillon, who is connected with this affair in *The Mystery of Iniquity*, the pamphlet quoted by Dr. Burton, and attributed to Edward Bowles. He is there stated to have been in Edinburgh, and to have returned to Ireland to take his seat in the Privy Council to which he had just been admitted by the King's orders. What more natural than that he should have carried with him a formal authorisation for the movement of the Lords, or that, if he fell into O'Neill's hands, that authorisation should have been altered by O'Neill to suit his purposes and sent forth with the real seal attached to it? As for the Queen, it is certain that she had no part in the Ulster rising. Rossetti, who was now at Cologne, writes that Mary de Medicis had received a letter from her daughter 'piena di maggiori doglienze per le presenti commotioni d'Hibernia.' The statements afloat as to her participation distressed her, 'onde dalle suddette cose stava S. M^tà molto travagliata, poichè parte de' dissegni che s'havevano si dubita siano discoperti.'—Rossetti to Barberini, $\frac{\text{Nov. 21}}{\text{Dec. 1}}$, *R. O. Transcripts*. That is to say, she regretted them because her other manœuvres were likely to come to light. And yet Pym is continually taken to task for being unreasonably suspicious. The relations of the King and Queen with the Catholic Lords are shown not merely by the evidence adduced at p. 7, but by the following extract from the letter just quoted:—"Adunque in questo proposito rappresenterò a V. Em^za, che circa il negotio della libertà di conscienza molto si sperava per l'effettuatione di ciò nelle forze d'Hibernia, et queste sono quelle che hora fedelmente si sono mosse, e come una volta si disse alle loro Maestà che considerassero che ne' gran bisogni non havevano altra gente che i Cattolici Inglesi e d'Hibernia, e questi solamente per esser Cattolici, e come all' opposito gli Scozzesi, natione la quale ancorche havesse ricevuti tanti benefitii, nondimeno per essere Puritani erano ribelli, et questo fu ben sentito, et conosciuto per vero, e perciò si pensava d'incaminare le cose

to prepare for a conference with the Lords, in order to acquaint them what Bills had passed which concerned the safety of the kingdom, and to which their lordships' consent had been refused, as well as to tell them 'that this House being the representative body of the whole kingdom, and their lordships being but as particular persons, and coming to Parliament in a particular capacity, that, if they should not be pleased to consent to the passing of those Acts and others necessary to the preservation and safety of the kingdom, that then this House together with such of the Lords that are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom, may join together and represent the same to His Majesty.' [1]

The Lords warned that the Commons can act without them.

Such a threat did not indeed necessarily imply a resolution to set at naught the constitutional authority of the Lords over legislation, but it would hardly have been made if there had not been some thought of proceeding in that direction. Charles was no doubt strengthened by it in his present wish to meet the Commons on constitutional ground. In other words, his ears were for the time open to Bristol rather than to the Queen. A few days before he had given Windebank's secretaryship to Nicholas. On the day of the appointment of the Commons' Committee he received a deputation from the London aldermen, and after knighting all who appeared, and promising to confer a baronetcy on the Lord Mayor, he cheerfully acceded to their request that he would return to Whitehall in order to give encouragement to trade. Taking heart from their loyal speeches he at once dismissed Vane from the secretaryship. On the 5th he named Lennox Lord Steward, and Lennox was a close ally of Bristol. The selection was a special defiance to the House of Commons, who wished to see Pembroke in the place.[2]

Charles intends to offer constitutional resistance.

Nov. 27. Nicholas secretary.

The City deputation and Vane's dismissal.

Dec. 5. Lennox Lord Steward.

a vantaggio della nostra Santa Religione, ma che cosa si sia scoperto intorno a queste turbolenze non lo posso rappresentare a V. Em^za^ per non haver ricevuto lettere dal Padre Filippo, ne da altri."

[1] *L. J.* iv. 330.

[2] Giustinian to the Doge, Dec. $\frac{10}{20}$, *Ven. Transcripts*, *R. O.*

On his arrival at Whitehall on the 6th. Charles found the Lords engaged upon a Bill authorising the impressment of soldiers for Ireland, which had come up from the Commons. One of its clauses distinctly denied the King's right to compel men to military service beyond the borders of their own county, except upon a sudden emergency caused by a foreign invasion. The first reading was not carried without considerable opposition. Lyttelton and Manchester concurred in asserting that it took away from the Crown a prerogative of which it had been possessed for 300 years, though it was, in fact, verbally copied from an unrepealed statute of Edward III.[1] It was to little purpose, replied Saye, that ship-money had been abandoned by the King, if he retained his power of impressment.[2] On the 6th, the Bill was read a second time, and amended in committee. Then the Peers intimated their dislike of the clause to which some of their members had taken an objection, by a message to ask the Commons to acquaint them with the reasons which had induced them to insert this clause in the Bill.[3]

Dec. 6. The Impressment Bill.

It was precisely the course which they had taken before throwing out the first Bishops' Exclusion Bill. The reply of the Commons was the same in both cases. Those who had then brought in a Root-and-Branch Bill to regulate the Church, now brought in a Root-and-Branch Bill to regulate the army. If it was to be acknowledged as law that the King could levy troops in any part of England that he pleased, to use them against another part, they must demand the enactment of a new law which would take the command of the militia or trained bands of the counties entirely out of his hands. In the Bill which Hazlerigg brought in for this purpose, it was proposed that a Lord General, whose name was left blank, should be nominated to have supreme command over the militia. His powers were to be of the widest description. He was to raise men, to levy money to pay them, and to execute martial law. A Lord Admiral was to be appointed to command

Dec. 7. The Militia Bill.

[1] See Hallam, *Const. Hist.* ch. ix.
[2] *L. J.* iv. 462. Dover's notes, *Clarendon MSS.* 1603
[3] *L. J.* iv. 463.

at sea with similar powers. The demand of the Lords for an explanation of the Impressment Bill was left unanswered.

No wonder the new Bill was received with indignation by the Royalists. Shouts of "Away with it! Cast it out!" resounded through the House. Culpepper truly said that it took from the King the power which was left to him by the law, 'and placed an unlimited arbitrary power in another.' Nor were these objections confined to the ordinary supporters of the Crown. Men who had struggled and suffered on behalf of English liberty might well shrink from setting up a military despotism. Yet the proposal to throw out the Bill without further consideration was rejected by 158 to 125, a larger majority than that by which the Remonstrance had been passed.[1] Evidently the intention of many of its supporters was merely to convey a warning to the House of Lords. No attempt was made for the present to pass it even through a first reading.

Anger of the Royalists.

Dec. 8.

In the background of the constitutional struggle at Westminster, lay the terrible Irish rebellion. Every post which crossed the Channel deepened the horror. On the 8th letters were read, telling that the evil was spreading. Sir Henry Tichborne with a little garrison was penned in behind the walls of Drogheda. The flame had gained the South. The natives of Wicklow and Wexford had risen, and had advanced within four miles of Dublin. Most of the gentry of Louth and Meath had joined the rebels. All through Leinster and Munster agitation prevailed and robberies were committed. Money and troops must be sent at once. Lord Dillon was on his way with overtures from the rebels to the King. He was bringing with him an oath by which the insurgents had bound themselves to maintain their religion and the King's authority against his wicked ministers.[2]

Progress of the Irish Rebellion.

At Pym's motion, the Commons resolved to provide money to hasten the troops away. It was also proposed that the King

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS* clxii. fol. 217 b.

[2] *Ibid.* fol. 219 b. Compare letters of the end of November amongst the *Carte MSS.*

should be asked to declare that he would never consent to grant a toleration of religion to the rebels. Culpepper argued sensibly enough that such a declaration would alienate those Irish Catholics who had remained steadfast in their allegiance. Holles asked that the declaration might apply to all the King's dominions, and Holles carried his point.[1]

A declaration drawn up against toleration.

Whilst the Commons were attempting to secure themselves against the Catholics, the King was attempting to secure himself against the City mob, which a few days before had again crowded round the Houses of Parliament, and had loudly expressed its disapprobation of the bishops. On the 9th Charles directed the Lord Mayor to preserve the peace of the City, and to see that the apprentices were kept in order.[2] The next morning armed men, appointed by a Westminster Justice, appeared by order of the Lord Keeper, to guard Parliament from danger. Both Houses resented the interference, and, protesting that there was no danger at all, dismissed the guard. The Justice who had given the order was sent by the Commons to the Tower.[3]

Dec. 9. The Lord Mayor directed to quiet tumults.

Dec. 10. The Westminster guard dismissed.

On the whole the King was playing for the time the part of a constitutional sovereign, doing his best to protect the Legislature from mob violence, and professing to respect the law. In this direction pointed the rumours which prevailed of fresh appointments of Bristol's friends to office.[4] Unluckily for the success of this policy, Charles could not silence the Queen, and the Queen was certain to lose him more votes in the Upper House than Bristol could gain. For the peers, opposed as they were to Puritanism, were equally opposed to Rome, and there could be little doubt that the condition of the Catholics would be a hard one for some time to come. The Queen was mad-

The King plays a constitutional part.

Dec. 9. Excitement of the Queen.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 226 b. *C. J.* ii. 335.

[2] *His Majesty's Special Command*, E. 179.

[3] *L. J.* iv. 469. *C. J.* ii. 338.

[4] Wiseman to Pennington, Dec. 9; Bere to Pennington, Dec. 9, *S. P. Dom.*

dened by the thought. The Lords had recently consented to a special measure for disarming the English Catholics, and though they had allowed Philips to leave the Tower, they had forbidden him to go near Whitehall, and might examine him on the Queen's secrets at any moment. She, therefore, threw her voice on the side of a thorough breach with the opponents of the Court. Northumberland, Essex, Saye, Hertford, Holland, and others were to be turned out of the Council and dismissed from their offices.[1]

Dec. 8. Sweeping changes proposed.

Yet, if Charles could not make his wife discreet, for the present, at least, he refused to follow her in her mischievous course. It was quite in the spirit of Bristol's policy that he issued a proclamation on the 10th announcing that, though he was considering with his Parliament how all just scruples might be removed, yet for the preservation of unity and peace he required obedience to the laws and statutes ordained for the establishment of the true religion.[2]

Dec. 10. The proclamation on religion.

The proclamation thus issued was anything but a healing measure. Charles indeed held out some vague prospect of changes to which he might ultimately be induced to give his assent, but the immediate result would be to deprive the Puritan of his standing ground in the Church. The law, indeed, was on the King's side, but the law had ceased to be in accordance with the real wants of the nation.

The next day the weight of the City made itself felt in the opposite scale. Some 400 well-to-do merchants and tradesmen were borne in coaches to Westminster, to present to the Commons a petition in support of Pym's policy, in which they asked for the removal of the bishops and Catholic lords from Parliament. They asserted that the

Dec. 11. The City Petition.

[1] "Sir H. Vane, Junior, voted at Court to be put out, and my Lord," *i.e.* Northumberland, "should go the same way if the feminine gender might have their will. The truth is there is such fashions at Court that, if some might be hearkened unto, the King should lose all the best friends and servants he hath, merely by malicious plots."—Smith to Pennington, Dec. 10, *S. P. Dom.* For other names see La Ferté's despatch of Dec. 7, *Arch. des Aff. Étr.* xlviii. fol. 437.

[2] *Rushworth*, iv. 456.

petition was signed by 20,000, and that many more signatures could easily have been procured. The Lord Mayor and his friends, they added, had endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of the collection of signatures.[1]

Both parties were evidently anxious to keep as far as possible within the letter of the law. On the day of the presentation of the City petition Charles named a commission charged to bring his expenditure within the limits of his income, so that he might be independent of tonnage and poundage if the Commons refused to dole it out to him any longer.[2] On the following day he issued a proclamation summoning the numerous members who were absent from their places in the House of Commons to return to their duties before January 12,[3] no doubt on the calculation that these careless and unpolitical personages would give their votes to him, and that he would thus find himself in harmony with a majority in both Houses.

Commission for reducing the King's expenditure.

Dec. 12. Proclamation for the attendance of members.

How could Charles hope that the month's interval which he needed to carry out this plan would pass over quietly? The Irish Rebellion would not brook delay. On the 14th the King appeared in the Upper House to make what he doubtless regarded as a great concession. He would give his assent to the Impressment Bill, if only a clause saving the rights of both parties were substituted for the clause denying his right to levy men for service outside the limits of their own counties.[4] To his intense astonishment, he found that the Lords were as sensitive as the Commons to any suggestion of the employment of a military force capable of being used against Parliament, and that they at once showed their resentment of his interference with a Bill still under discussion, by calling on him to name the persons upon whose information he had acted. On the subject of toleration for the Catholics, too, the peers were of one mind with the Lower

Dec. 14. The King's speech on the Impressment Bill.

Case of the seven priests.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 339. Giustinian to the Doge, Dec. $\frac{17}{27}$, *Ven. Transcripts. R. O. The Citizens' Humble Petition*, E. 180.

[2] *Council Register*, Dec. 11.

[3] *Rymer*, xx. 505.

[4] *L. J.* iv. 473.

House. The Commons had been clamouring for the blood of five out of seven priests who were lying under sentence of death. In their present indignation they asked that all seven should suffer, and to this the Lords raised no objection.[1] The King, however, refused to give way, and the unhappy men remained in prison some time longer. The Lords were too dependent on the King for the success of their ecclesiastical policy to do more than testify their disapprobation. The Commons were under no such bond. Not only were they irritated by Charles's refusal to abandon his claim to levy an army for general service, but they knew that language was being freely used at Court which threw a sinister light on the reasons of his refusal. It had become a matter of common conversation that plans had been discussed for the trial and execution of the Parliamentary leaders.[2] Whether Charles had done more than listen to these violent projects it is impossible to say. The Commons were goaded into taking a step in advance. They resolved to print the Remonstrance and to appeal to the people.[3]

Talk of executing the Parliamentary leaders.

Dec. 15. Printing of the Remonstrance.

The Lords next took up the Declaration against toleration, which had been sent up from the Commons. On the principle of intolerance both Houses were agreed. But they were not of one mind as to the only religion to be tolerated. The Declaration, as amended by the Lords, proclaimed that no religion should be tolerated 'in His Majesty's dominions of England and Ireland, but what is or shall be established by laws of this kingdom.' It speaks much for the alarm felt in the Commons that they accepted the amendment which recognised the binding character of the existing Church law, until it had been altered with the consent of the Lords and of the King.[4] Bristol had been entrusted

Dec. 17. The Lords declare that no religion except the established one is to be tolerated.

Dec. 18. Agreement of the Commons.

Bristol's policy.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 342. *L. J.* iv. 475.

[2] On ne parloit il y a quatre jours que de faire couper la tête à plusieurs de Parlement."—La Ferté's despatch, Dec. $\frac{16}{26}$, *Arch. des. Aff. Étr.* xlviii. f 1 440.

[3] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 244 b.

[4] *C. J.* ii. 349.

with the preparation of the amendment, and there can be little doubt that it represents his policy. Though a fair discussion might lead to some alterations in the Prayer-book, he trusted that it would leave the Prayer-book in the main what it had been before.[1]

Difficulties in its way.

Though such a policy was, at all events, worthy of trial, it is impossible to deny that men's minds were hardly in a temper tending to accommodation. The order of the King that the law of the Church should be obeyed till it was altered called forth a petition from certain ministers to the House of Commons, asking that they might not be compelled to use prayers against which their consciences protested, and which had been pronounced to be worthy of amendment by a committee of bishops and other grave divines, sitting by the direction of the House of Lords. "It seems," they said, "most equal that the consciences of men should not be forced upon that which a Parliament itself holds needful to consider the reformation of and give order in, till the same be accordingly done." Finally they asked that Convocation might be entirely passed by, and a free National Synod gathered to give advice to Parliament.[2] Convocation gave a preponderating voice to the bishops and to the chapters, which had a strong Laudian element, whereas a synod would give expression to the general feeling of the clergy.

Dec. 20. The ministers' petition.

Whatever Bristol wished to do, it behoved him to do quickly. Yet, until the Irish difficulty was settled, there was no time to do anything. On the subject of the Impressment Bill the Lords were now seeking an understanding with the King rather than with the Commons, and had refused to agree to the landing of 10,000 Scots in Ireland till they could be quite sure that 10,000 English would be sent as well.[3] They preferred that Ireland should remain in rebellion rather than that it should be conquered by Presbyterian Scotland. The Commons preferred that it should remain in rebellion rather than that the King should

Question of sending Scots to Ireland.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 480. [2] *Nalson*, ii. 764. [3] *L. J.* iv. 481.

have an army at his disposal which he might employ against the liberties of England.

On the 20th a question of no slight importance was settled. A claim to protest had again been made by a member of the Commons, and the House now ruled that such a claim was inadmissible.[1] No member was to shake himself clear of responsibility for the vote of the House. An expression which slipped from one of the minority left no doubt of the course which, under existing circumstances, it was desirable to take. "We must submit to a law," said Holborne, "when it is passed; but if we may not ask leave to protest, we shall be involved, and perhaps lose our heads in a crowd, when there is nothing to show who was innocent."[2] In the eyes of the minority, it seemed, the majority were traitors, engaged in subverting the constitution, and therefore liable to be sent to the block.

Dec. 20. Right of protestation refused to members of the Commons.

Formally, the procedure of the House of Commons has ever since been ruled by that day's decision. No attempt to register a protest has again been made. Yet the demand of Hyde and Holborne has been long ago virtually conceded. The printing of the division lists effects far more than any protest recorded in the journals.

Modern practice.

The aim of the majority was to make that appear to be a fact which was not one. The world was to be asked to believe that the resolutions of the House were the resolutions of the whole body, and not those of a mere majority. The delusion could not be kept up for ever. It might be impossible to ascertain in what way a particular member had voted. There would be no difficulty in discovering on what side he had fought and bled at Edgehill or at Marston Moor.

The unity of a representative body is not to be preserved by the enforcement of its forms. If the statesmanship be wanting which takes account even of defeated opponents if those opponents are pushed to the wall and called upon to abandon, not merely their preferences, but all that is dearer to them than life itself, Parliamentary unity is

The unity of a representative body.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 255.

[2] *Verney Notes*, 136.

no longer possible. When the spiritual basis of co-operation is wanting, a quarrel arises which can be decided by the sword alone.

The discussions on the Impressment Bill were enough to show that both parties were already clutching at the sword.

The Impressment Bill again.

The day on which the question of protestation was settled in the Commons, Holles carried up to the Lords a declaration that, if they did not give way on the point at issue, the Commons would hold themselves free from responsibility for the blood and misery which might follow. The next day the Lower House emphasised its warning by reading the Militia Bill for the first time, and by sending up a petition from a number of Irish Protestants of English birth, setting forth in detail the wretched state of Ireland, and urging the Lords to send away with all speed the 10,000 Scots who were but waiting for their word.[1]

Dec. 21. The Militia Bill read a first time.

The Lords asked to send Scots to Ireland.

The Lords were in a difficulty. They did not wish to curtail the King's prerogative, and to place Ireland in the hands of an army of Scottish Presbyterians. They therefore replied by asking the Commons to assure them that if the 10,000 Scots were sent, the 10,000 English should also go. The Commons refused to give any such assurance, as matters stood. Unless the Impressment Bill were passed the English soldiers could not go. The Lords answered by voting that both the English and the Scottish force should go, whilst they preserved a complete silence on the subject of the Impressment Bill.[2] Outside the House, this decision was set down to the obstinacy of the bishops, and many men began to ask one another whether it would be enough to exclude them from the House of Lords. Would it not be better, it was said, to abolish the office entirely?[3]

Reply of the Lords.

Their decision ascribed to the bishops.

For the present the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords was the object which the leaders of the Commons had set before themselves as likely to put an end to the

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 264 b. *L. J.* iv. 484.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 485, 486.

[3] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{Dec. } 24}{\text{Jan. } 3}$.

antagonism between the Houses. They knew full well what deep roots the ecclesiastical dispute had. The Commons had been recently engaged in inquiring into the difficulties thrown by the authorities of the City in the way of the petitioners who had asked that the bishops and the Catholic lords might be deprived of their votes.[1] There was everything to show that the authorities regarded the signature of this petition as a punishable action. Lord Mayor Gurney, who had just received his promised baronetcy, had asserted that the petition 'tended to mutiny,' and that those who signed it 'did not know into what danger they fell.' The Recorder, Sir Thomas Gardiner, had taken fire at the statement that the exclusion of the bishops was desired by the Common Council. He swore that this was a lie. The petition, he said, 'did tend to sedition, and to set men together by the ears.' He was answered that it tended to peace. "No!" he burst out, "it is for blood and cutting of throats; and if it come to cutting of throats, thank yourselves, and your blood be upon your own heads."[2]

Dec. 20. Inquiry into the conduct of the City authorities.

Strong language of the Lord Mayor and Recorder.

The meaning of this was obvious. The Puritans knew that the forms of the constitution were against them. The Episcopalians had the advantage—so great at the opening of a contest, so absolutely worthless after a contest has proceeded for a little while—of standing on the defensive. Pym and his followers had been reduced to mere protestations which they were powerless to transform into acts. They had discovered that they could not, by their protestations, compel the Lords to do anything whatever to modify the Prayer-book, or even to declare the King incapable of forming an English army on English soil without the consent of Parliament. The obstruction of the Peers seemed likely to leave them masters of the field. Even to petition for a constitutional change was counted as a crime by the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London.

Apparent strength of the Episcopalians.

Nor was it possible to be certain that even in the City

[1] Page 98.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 350.

physical force would be on the side of the Puritans. On the Sunday morning a fanatic who went by the name of Prophet Hunt, having attempted after the sermon was over at St. Sepulchre's, to denounce the Divine vengeance upon an evil generation, was dragged off by the congregation, brought before the Lord Mayor, and committed to prison. In the afternoon there was a more serious riot. Praise-God Barebone, a leather-seller, whose remarkable name afterwards brought him to an unlooked for celebrity, lived in Fleet Street near the corner of Fetter Lane. He preached so loudly to a congregation of Separatists which met in his house, as to attract the attention of the passers by. A crowd soon gathered, mainly composed of apprentices, possibly the very lads who had been so noisy at Westminster a few days before. If so, they were quite as ready to bait a Separatist as to bait a bishop. The house was stormed, and its sign was unhooked in order to provide a gallows on which to hang the preacher. Fortunately, the constables arrived in time and saved Barebone by carrying off both himself and some of his auditors in custody.[1]

Dec 19. Prophet Hunt at St. Sepulchre's.

Attack on Barebone's house.

Barebone in custody.

The difficulties thus raised would have been sufficient to try the nerves of the coolest statesman. As matters then stood, it was impossible that the leaders of the Commons should have remained cool. For months they had lived in a heated atmosphere of baffled plots, directed against themselves and the institutions which they firmly believed to be essential to the repose of their beloved country. They had every reason to believe that such a plot was again on foot. Not only the chatter of the antechambers at Whitehall, but the talk of grave divines like Chillingworth, and of grave lawyers like Holborne, pointed to a conviction that the Crown and the Church were to be saved only by treating Pym and Hampden as Pym and Hampden had treated Strafford. In

Difficulties of the Parliamentary leaders.

[1] *The Discovery of a Swarm of Separatists*, E. 180. Amongst the same collection of pamphlets (E. 138) is a discourse written by Barebone, arguing that it was unnecessary to rebaptize persons who had been baptized 'under the defection of Antichrist,' and that infant baptism was warrantable.

little more than three weeks the absentee members of the Commons might again be seen on the benches of the House. If an Episcopalian majority were the result, Charles would be able to settle the Church as he pleased. There could be little doubt that nothing at all would be done to conciliate the Puritans. The Laudian system would return, not now outside the pale of the law, but sanctioned by the very law itself. The Church system of the Restoration would be anticipated. Yet even this was not the limit of the danger. It was rather against violence than against law that the majority of the Commons sought to provide—violence, it might be, carried out in the name of the law, and executed by troops put in motion at the command of the King.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE ATTEMPT ON THE FIVE MEMBERS.

WOULD Charles have patience to wait till January 12 brought back the absentee members? Patience is hardly possible except where a deliberate plan has been formed, and Charles was never capable of forming such a plan. It can hardly be doubted that the idea of bringing the leaders of the Commons before a criminal tribunal, had again and again presented itself to his mind. It was just the sort of act, combining a show of legality with a reality of violence, which would have most readily commended itself to him, and there is every reason to believe that he had sought in Scotland for evidence to convict his political opponents of complicity with the Scottish invasion. But with him it was always one thing to propose a course of action to himself, and another to carry it out. Unless something occurred to force his hand, it was probable that this project would never be pushed on to actual execution, and might share the fate of the two Army Plots, and of the combination with the Irish Lords.

1641. Charles's intentions.

That something occurred on December 21. The elections to the Common Council took place, according to custom, on that day, and the elections were largely in favour of the Puritan opposition.[1] The constitutional

Dec. 21. The new Common Council.

[1] An account is to be found in *Somers' Tracts*, iv. 588, but I have grave doubts of the truth of the charge that the newly elected councillors came to vote before they were legally qualified to do so. From a pamphlet, *An answer to a late . . . pamphlet* (E. 135), it would seem that there was raised a question of the treatment of the poor by the old Common Councillors.

division in Parliament was reproduced in the City. The new Common Council would side with Pym. The Aldermen would side with Charles and the Peers.

Charles felt that he had not a moment to lose. The opposition in the City would now have the benefit of organisation, and the City mob would be able, as powerfully as it had done in the days of Strafford's trial, to dictate terms to him at Westminster. The wisdom of waiting till actual tumults had taken place, and of falling back upon the dislike of the country to violence and disorder, was unknown to Charles. He directed or persuaded Balfour to surrender the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and appointed Lunsford in his place.[1]

Charles resolves to do something.

The Commons heard of Balfour's dismissal before they broke up on the 21st. As the 22nd was observed as a fast, they could not take action till the 23rd. There was everything in the change to raise suspicion. Balfour had been staunch in resisting the introduction of Billingsley and his soldiers when Strafford's escape was planned. Lunsford was only known as a debauched ruffian, who was believed to be capable of any villany. If the talk of the seizure and execution of the leaders, of which so much had been recently heard, was to be carried into practice, Lunsford was the very man to keep a tight hold on his prisoners.

Lunsford appointed Lieutenant of the Tower.

Dec. 23.

Hardly less significant than Lunsford's appointment was the answer which Charles at last saw fit to make to the Remonstrance. Rating the Commons severely for their disrespect in printing their complaints against his express wish, he declared his entire ignorance of the existence of any malignant party in the country. In all matters

The King's answer to the Remonstrance.

[1] Balfour told the Commons 'that, the Earl of Newport being made Constable of the Tower, he had moved his Majesty that either he might be wholly entrusted with that charge, or else might surrender his Lieutenant's place which he had by word of mouth surrendered.'—D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 266 b. Newport, however, had been Constable for many months; and, though Balfour probably felt hurt at the appointment, there must have been pressure put on him to bring him to give effect to his grievance at so convenient a moment.

of religion he was quite ready to pay attention to grievances which might be presented to him in a Parliamentary way, or, in other words, with the concurrence of both Houses. The right of the bishops to their seats in the Upper House was part of the fundamental laws of England. If Parliament advised the calling of a National Synod, he would take the request into consideration, though he was persuaded that no Church could be found in which there was greater purity of doctrine than in the Church of England, or in which the government and discipline were more free from superstition. This he was ready to maintain with his life against Popery on the one hand, and the irreverence of schismatics and Separatists on the other. As to the demand for a change of evil counsellors, he could only say that he knew of none to whom that description applied, and that he had always been careful to choose men of ability and experience.[1]

Nature of Charles's appeal.

Such was Charles's profession of faith. He stood for the ancient Constitution and the ancient Church. Some slight changes might be needed, but they must be changes which would secure the approval of the House of Lords and of himself. That his words would find an echo there could be little doubt. Not all England was Puritan. At Dover, the recent proclamation on religion had been received with shouts of applause. "God bless his Majesty!" was the cry, "we shall have our old religion again;"[2] and the same feeling undoubtedly existed in many parts of the country.

The Lords refuse to petition for Lunsford's removal.

The stand taken by the King rallied to him the House of Lords. To a request from the Commons that they would join in a petition for the dismissal of Lunsford, and for the appointment of Conyers in his stead, the Peers returned a blank refusal.[3]

The reply of the Lords was taken in evil part by the House of Commons. For the first time the Peers had refused con-

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 452.
[2] Perceval to Pennington, Dec. 18, *S. P. Dom.*
[3] *C. J.* ii. 354. *L. J.* iv. 487.

currence in protesting against a manifest danger to the persons of the members of the Lower House. What avowable reason, it was asked, could the King have had for the appointment of 'a man given to drinking, swearing, and quarrelling, much in debt, and very desperate?' Yet what were the Commons to do? They had no constitutional power to pass over the resistance of the Lords. The City was, no doubt, on their side. On the afternoon of the 23rd a petition asking for the rooting out of Episcopacy was brought in with 30,000 signatures. The leaders of the House, however, had no wish to appeal to force. They preferred to remain as long as possible on constitutional ground. On the 24th the Militia Bill received a second reading, and a special appeal for co-operation was sent up to the Lords.

Displeasure of the Commons.

Dec. 24.

In this protest the Lords were conjured to join in a declaration to the King of the danger into which the kingdom had fallen through the machinations of Papists and other disaffected persons. Lunsford's appointment was sufficient evidence that this design was now approaching maturity. As the Lords had refused to join in petitioning against that appointment, the Commons now declared 'before God, and the whole kingdom,' that they had done all that was in their power to do. They had frustrated the design of bringing in the Irish army, and the plots for bringing up the English army and seizing the Tower. The malignant party was now encouraged by the progress of the Irish Rebellion, and by the delays in the House of Lords. All that was left for the Commons to do was to protest their innocence of the blood which would be spilt if Lunsford were continued in his charge. They would appeal to the King to grant such commissions as would enable them 'to defend his Royal person and his loyal subjects from the cruelty and rage of the Papists,' and they hoped that such of the Lords as shared their apprehensions would join them in making them known to his Majesty, and would do 'what appertains to persons of honour and fidelity for the common good.'

The Commons' declaration for the safety of the kingdom.

The Lords were in a difficulty. Men like Bristol had no

liking for plots either Catholic or Protestant. Lunsford was hardly a champion to their taste. It was no doubt in order to give Charles an opportunity of withdrawing from his false position, that the Lords voted an adjournment of the debate on the Commons' declaration till the Houses met again on the 27th after the short Christmas recess. Yet twenty-two Peers not only voted against the adjournment, but formally recorded a protest against any delay in taking up a question which concerned the instant good and safety of the King and kingdom.'[1]

The Lords in a difficulty.

The danger stood imminent before the eyes of men. "So as now," wrote D'Ewes, after recording the protest of the Lords' minority, "all things hastened apace to confusion and calamity, from which I scarce saw any possibility in human reason for this poor Church and kingdom to be delivered. My hope only was in the goodness of that God who had several times during this Parliament already been seen in the Mount and delivered us beyond the expectation of ourselves and of our enemies from the jaws of destruction."[2]

Prospect of danger.

One step the Commons attempted to take in the face of the impending danger. Newport was Constable of the Tower, and consequently Lunsford's superior officer. They, therefore, requested Newport to take personal charge of the fortress,[3] as he had done before under somewhat similar circumstances. They knew that they could count on Newport. Some one had told Charles that during his absence in Scotland there had been a conversation turning upon a plot of the King's. Newport, it was said, had burst in with—"If there be such a plot, yet here are his wife and children." When Charles asked Newport whether he had heard any discussion about seizing the Queen and her children, the peer answered in the negative. "I am sorry," replied Charles scornfully, "for your lordship's memory." As soon as he heard of the request of the Commons to Newport, he dismissed him from the Constableship of the Tower.[4]

Newport asked to take charge of the Tower;

but is dismissed from the Constableship.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 489. [2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 278 b.
[3] *C. J.* ii. 357. [4] *L. J.* iv. 490. *C. J.* ii. 357.

Charles was going too far for his own supporters. On the 26th the Lord Mayor assured him that, unless Lunsford were removed, he could not answer for the peace of the City. The apprentices would try to storm the Tower. Before such remonstrances Charles could not but give away, and before night Lunsford was dismissed from a post to which he should never have been appointed. His successor was Sir John Byron, a brave and honourable man, warmly attached to the King, and who bore a character without a stain.[1]

Dec. 26. Lunsford dismissed.

What was done, however, could not be undone. The appointment of Lunsford in December was what the orders given to Billingsley had been in May. In both cases the King had kept within his legal rights. In both cases he had created amongst his opponents a sense of imminent danger.

When the Commons assembled on the 27th they were met by news from Ireland, even more discouraging than before. St. Leger, the President of Munster, announced that, unless reinforcements arrived from England, there was no hope of saving the province. Lord Ranelagh, the President of Connaught, declared that though order might have been maintained with 500 men in November, it would need 3,000 now. Yet if an army must go to Ireland, how could the King be trusted with the appointment of its commanders? The rebels had given out that they had authority from the Queen to take arms for the Romish religion. What was of far greater importance, there was now evidence that the Catholic Lords of the Pale were astir and had entered into communication with the rebels. Lord Dillon, who had crossed into Ireland in October, in all probability as the bearer of Charles's incitement to the Irish lords to raise his standard in Dublin, had stopped in Longford on his way south, to listen to the terms demanded by the rebels, and had carried those terms to the Irish Peers. At a short meeting of the Irish Parliament, now entirely in the hands of the Catholics, it had been resolved to open negotiations with the northern rebels, and to despatch Dillon, though

Dec. 27. Fresh news from Ireland.

[1] Bere to Pennington, Dec. 30, *S. P. Dom.*

he was himself Protestant, to England. On his arrival, Dillon informed Charles that the Catholic lords were ready to support the Crown, on the condition of complete liberty of religion and of the complete independence of the Irish Parliament.[1] Pym, who does not seem to have been acquainted with this negotiation, knew of Dillon's arrival. Dillon was arrested and examined by a committee, from which, on the 27th, Pym made his report. That report disclosed at least part of the plan of the Catholic peers. The Lords Justices were to be removed, and Ormond was to take their place. The Irish Parliament, when it met in January, was to continue in session. At its recommendation some officers would be dismissed, and others put in their room, because, as matters stood, 'most of the officers' were 'more faithful to the Parliament of England than to the King.' The petition which Dillon had brought from Longford, in which full toleration was demanded, would then be granted.[2]

Lord Dillon in England.

The terms of the Catholic Peers.

Dillon's scheme.

Such were the overtures of which Dillon had made himself the mouthpiece. Can it be wondered that the Commons saw in them a fresh danger to the State? It is true that they did not know, as we know, that the plan for supplanting the Lords Justices by Ormond, and for securing the toleration of the Irish Catholics, had been in agitation during the whole summer, and was now favourably regarded by the King.[3]

The Commons take alarm.

[1] Giustinian to the Doge, Dec. $\frac{17, \text{Dec. } 24}{27, \text{ Jan. } 3}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R.O.*

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. 282 b.

[3] On Jan. $\frac{2}{12}$, 1642, Rossetti wrote from Cologne, upon news derived from England somewhere about Dec. 20, that 'loro Maestà per restituirsi . . . nello stato di prima non puoco speravano nelle forze degl' Hibernesi,' and that the Irish were gaining strength, 'non senza intrinseco gusto del Rè d' Inghilterra, ancorche egli mostri et non possi far di meno di mostrare estrinsecamente l'opposito, poichè se bene vien ciò discorso in diversa maniera, tutto però sino dall' anno passato andavasi disponendo per potere poi anche tener in freno quel Parlamento dalle precipitose risolutioni che si facevano contro la Regia autorità, intendendosi oltre di ciò di sradicare affatto la Religione Puritana, e concedere la libertà di conscienza a Catto lici con l' uso libero della Protestante et queste due solamente fossero e

Nor was it merely a future peril against which it was necessary to guard. Almost at the very moment at which the House was listening anxiously to Dillon's revelations, the blow had fallen in Ireland. By the junction of the Catholic lords with the Ulster rebels, what had hitherto been a local rising had grown to the dimensions of a national resistance.

It is unnecessary to enter in detail into the causes which brought about the breach between the Lords Justices and the Lords of the Pale. Each, with good reason, thoroughly distrusted the other. The Lords Justices believed that the Lords were intriguing against them with the King, and that they would never cordially support a government by which their religion was proscribed. The Lords believed that the Lords Justices would never agree to tolerate their religion, or allow them to exercise any political influence. On December 3 the Lords Justices invited the Lords of the Pale to come to Dublin to a conference on the state of the kingdom. The Lords, suspecting danger, declined to come,[1] and assembled on the 9th at Swords to consult together, refusing to disperse on orders so to do.

The Lords Justices and the Catholic Lords.

Dec. 3. The Lords summoned to Dublin,

Dec. 7. but refuse to come.

A few days later Sir Charles Coote was sent out by the Government to punish some wreckers at Clontarf. Already that officer had earned for himself the detestation of the Irish. Having been sent against the Wicklow rebels he had led the way in those deeds of cruelty which were soon to balance the cruel actions of the Irish in the North.[2] His soldiers had been recruited from the Protestant fugitives from Ulster, and such men knew no mercy. To them an Irishman was but a savage beast, to be destroyed without pity. It was at least believed that Coote had looked on approvingly when one of his soldiers was carrying the body of an infant on the point of a pike, and had jestingly observed that he 'liked

Dec. 15. Sir Charles Coote sent to Clontarf.

permesse e stabilite, conforme pur hoggi dì si vede andarsi levando a poco a poco tutte l' altre.'

[1] The Lords Justices and Council to Kildare and others, Dec. 3. The Lords of the Pale to the Lords Justices, Dec. 7, *Temple*, part ii. 22.

[2] Diary of Coote's Force, *Clarendon MSS.* 1,584.

such frolics.' At Clontarf, he burnt not only the village, but the house of a gentleman who was at that time at the meeting at Swords.

The Lords at Swords were not more ready to disperse upon the news of the outrage. The whole country round was in a disturbed condition. Whilst Irishmen were abroad plundering English troops, English troops were attacking the plunderers, cutting down and hanging those whom they caught.

Junction of the Lords of the Pale with the Ulster rebels.

The Lords and their followers had already abandoned Swords. On the day on which Clontarf was burnt they had summoned a meeting of the gentry of the county of Meath, at the hill of Crofty. Whilst they were still in discussion, a party rode up, amongst which were the leaders of the Ulster rebels. It was not long before an agreement was struck up, and two discordant elements were merged, at least for a time, in national resistance.[1]

Ormond and the Lords Justices.

Ormond stood by the King, and took no part in the resistance of the Catholic lords; but the relations between him and the Lords Justices were not such as to make any military success possible. He would gladly have attacked the Northern rebels earlier, but the Lords Justices, prudent from their own point of view, preferred waiting for a Puritan army which would show no mercy to Irish Catholics. Already, before the actual combination between the two Irish parties had been formed, the Lords Justices and their supporters in Dublin congratulated themselves on the prospect opened before them. "Those great countries of Leinster, Ulster, and the Pale," they wrote to Leicester, "now lie the more open to His Majesty's free disposal, and to a general settlement of peace and religion by introducing the English."[2]

Sir William St. Leger in Munster.

The consequences of the reluctance of the Lords Justices to act vigorously, excepting through their own instruments, were bitterly felt in Munster. Sir William St. Leger, the President of that province, was a hale old soldier, with a soldier's contempt for unarmed multitudes,

[1] Carte's *Ormond*, iii. 141.

[2] The Lords Justices and some of the Council to Leicester, Dec. 14, Carte's *Ormond*, iii. 176.

and a soldier's preference for prompt action in time of peril. "In these days, my lord," he had written to Ormond, "Magna Carta must not be wholly insisted upon." The Munster rebels must be attacked at once. "It is not possible," he thought, "that 12,000 naked rogues could stand before 1,000 well-armed horse. . . . I would venture my life to go through the North with 2,000 foot and 600 horse."[1] Not long after these words were written his skill and courage were put to the test.

Nov. 20. In Tipperary a rabble carried off a large number of cattle belonging to the President's brother-in-law. Taking with him two troops of horse, St. Leger rode off in pursuit of the offenders, killing and hanging those whom he

Nov. 25. could seize, sometimes, it is said, persons who had no part in the robbery. The news of these violent proceedings raised the nobility and gentry of the district. Some of them told St. Leger that he had been to blame in exasperating the people. Replying fiercely that they were all rebels, and that he would not trust a soul of them, he rode off to Waterford. Subsequent attempts to restore peace were unavailing. The English were everywhere plundered when out of the protection of stone walls, and there were some murders. The influence of the Irish gentlemen and of the Catholic priests was thrown on the side of mercy, but that influence was not

December. always available. By the middle of December Munster was in full revolt, and the English had been driven for refuge to such fortified posts as they still held.[2] By the vigour of Clanricarde some sort of order was still preserved in Connaught.

Such was the news which dinned upon the ears of the Com-

Dec. 27. mons at Westminster. Many of them were convinced

Feeling produced on the Commons. that the King's advisers were at the bottom of the mischief, and, as we now know, they were not wholly

Charge against Bristol. in the wrong. Unfortunately, they struck in the wrong place. A member stood up and named Bristol as an evil counsellor. Orders were given to produce the

[1] St. Leger to Ormond, Nov. 8, 13, Carte's *Ormond*, Letters xxxiv., xxxv., xxxviii.

[2] Account of the insurrection in Tipperary, *Carte MSS.* ii. fol. 74.

letters in which, in 1626, he was charged by the King with having persuaded him at Madrid to change his religion.[1]

Even amongst the Lords, the events of the last few days had not been without effect. They asked the Commons to join them in bringing to justice the person who had informed the King against Newport. Their attention was, however, soon drawn in another direction. A crowd of apprentices and others, attracted by curiosity or love of excitement, had come to Westminster to see the members as they entered the House. When the Lords arrived they broke out into shouts of "No Bishops! No Popish Lords!" Williams clutched at a lad who was amongst the noisiest. His comrades rushed to the rescue. The Archbishop was hustled and his gown torn. About 500 of the rioters poured into Westminster Hall, where they found Lunsford, and a party of officers who had formerly served in the discharged army. Lunsford and his friends drew their swords and chased the mob out of the Hall, following them up King Street, and striking at those whom they could reach. A few of the fugitives were wounded, and for a time the officers appeared to have everything their own way. After a while the runaways recovered their spirits, and with a shower of stones drove their assailants to take refuge in Whitehall.[2]

The mob at Westminster.

Williams insulted.

The rioters chased by the officers.

The Lords not unnaturally treated the appearance of the mob as an interference with their freedom. On the one hand they offered to do justice to any man who had been injured by the officers. On the other hand, they asked the Commons to join in a declaration against riotous assemblies, and to petition the King for a guard.[3] The danger to themselves was a very present one. The crowd had remained shouting and gesticulating after its victory, and when the sitting came to an end Hertford warned

Measures proposed by the Lords.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 284 b. *C. J.* ii. 358.

[2] Slingsby to Pennington, Dec. 30, *S. P. Dom.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{Dec. 31}}{\text{Jan. 10}}$.

[3] *L. J.* iv. 493.

the bishops of the risk which they would run in the streets, and advised them to pass the night within the precincts of the House. "These people," he said, "vow they will watch you at your going out, and will search every court with torches so as you cannot escape." The danger was not so great as Hertford imagined, and the bishops reached their homes in safety.[1]

Dec. 28. Most of the bishops absent themselves.

The next morning only two of the bishops[2] were bold enough to take their seats. It is easy to ridicule those who absented themselves as unreasonably careful for their own safety. The mob had done no great harm as yet. But the only thing that can be safely predicted of an excited and undisciplined mass of human beings is that its future proceedings are beyond calculation, and the bishops cannot be blamed for refusing to expose themselves to danger. By this time the mob was thoroughly bent on mischief. Missing their sport with the bishops, they rushed to Westminster Abbey to break down the organ and the altar. Fortunately, they were kept at bay by Williams's servants, assisted by some gentlemen whom he called to his aid.

Attack on Westminster Abbey.

If both Houses had combined to restore order, the task would have been easy. Unhappily, after the appointment of Lunsford and the examination of Dillon, the majority of the Commons was far too much afraid of the King to join the Lords in taking action against the mob. They firmly refused to throw blame upon the citizens. "God forbid," said Pym, "the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way."[3] "The greater part of the House," noted D'Ewes, "thought it unreasonable to make any such declaration at this time, to discontent the citizens of London, our surest friends, when so many designs and plots were

The Commons refuse to blame the mob,

[1] Hall's 'Hard Measure,' *Works*, i. xlv.

[2] Goodman of Gloucester and Pierce of Bath and Wells. *H. of Lords' Minute Book.*

[3] These words, given by Clarendon (iv. 14), are taken from Dover's Notes, *Clarendon MSS.* 1,603.

daily consulted of against our safety." The Lords were informed that the Commons would join them in asking for a guard, if Essex might command it. In a conversation which ensued Cromwell drove the nail home by moving an address to the King to remove Bristol from his counsels, on the ground that he had recommended him in the spring to bring the northern army to his support.[1]

but offer to join the Lords in asking for a guard, if Essex may command.

There is little doubt that Cromwell was mistaken. The Commons, however, were not likely to interpret Bristol's conduct more favourably when they learned that a debate had been raised in the Lords, on a motion to declare that, in consequence of the continued presence of the rabble, Parliament was no longer free.[2] Of this motion Bristol's son, Digby, was the warm supporter, and probably the actual proposer.[3] A feeling sprang up in the Lower House that the proposal meant more than its words implied. If Parliament was not free now, it could hardly be said to have been free in May. If so, it might be held that Charles was not bound by the Act prohibiting a dissolution, and he might proceed at once either to get rid of a Parliament which he detested, or to adjourn it to some place where the citizens would not be able to come to its rescue.[4]

Motion in the Lords that Parliament is not free.

It is, of course, possible that less than this was intended. If the motion had been carried and had been followed by the adjournment of the House of Lords for a considerable time, the King would have had the Commons alone to deal with.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 287 b.

[2] The connection is plainly seen in the unfinished sentence which concludes the notice in the *Minute Book*. "Upon the rabble's coming and pressing about the Parliament there was much dispute whether this Parliament ——"

[3] The words ascribed to Digby are 'that the House of Commons have invaded the privileges of the Lords' House, and the liberty of the subject,' and 'that this is no free Parliament.'—*L. J.* iv. 495. Rossetti says he 'prese l'assunto di provare' this proposition, which looks as if he had proposed the motion.—Rossetti to Barberini, Jan. $\frac{2}{12}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[4] Smith to Pennington, Dec. 30, *S. P. Dom.*

The Commons alone would have been constitutionally powerless to effect anything whatever. Whether the King had made up his mind or not to seize their leaders upon a charge of treason cannot be known; but it can hardly be doubted that he had long contemplated such a measure, or that the scheme was favoured by a far larger number of persons than those who were ready to avow it after the attempt had been made and failed.

That failure had begun already. The perception of danger from the King as well as from the House of Commons made the Lords an uncertain support for the King to lean on. As far as was possible they strove to do their duty. Royalist as the Upper House was, it voted, though by a bare majority of four, that Parliament was free.[1] The next day they not only consulted the judges as to the legal mode of dealing with the mob, but they directed the Attorney-General to draw up a proclamation forbidding the wearing of weapons in the vicinity of Parliament. They were wiser than the King. They wished to free the Houses alike from tumultuous citizens and swaggering officers.

Its rejection. Dec. 29. The Lords try to mediate.

Unhappily the Lords could not count on Charles. To repress all violence, and to throw the blame on those who persisted in attempting to disturb the peace, was too simple a course for him. There can be little doubt that his mind had been strongly attracted to Ireland once more by Dillon's message, and on the 28th he had informed the Lords that he was himself ready to raise 10,000 volunteers for Ireland, if the Commons would find them pay.[2] The very next day those, if any there were, who were disposed to trust him with the selection of such a force, received a warning against the imprudence. On the 29th the King invited to dinner the very officers against whom complaints had been made, as a compliment to them on their appointment to commands in the

Dec. 28. The King's proposal to send volunteers to Ireland. Dec. 29. Dinner given to the officers.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 494. Rossetti to Barberini, Jan. $\frac{16}{26}$, *R. O. Tran cripts*. The attendances given in the Minute Books show that 54 were present, and that some of the Opposition, who had protested on the 24th, were absent.

[2] *L. J.* v. 494.

army destined for Ireland.[1] A force selected by the King, and officered by Lunsford and his companions, was the new danger against which Pym had to provide.

It was, indeed, difficult to keep the peace amidst such jarring elements. In those days of trouble, two names, destined to a wide celebrity, were heard of for the first time. The high-mettled gentlemen sneeringly applied the appellation of Roundheads to the short-haired apprentices who had rejected the unloveliness of lovelocks. Their adversaries retorted by speaking of the officers as Cavaliers —a word which carried with it a flavour of opprobrium, as implying a certain looseness and idleness of military life. Before long the two nicknames would be the accepted terms for two great political parties.

Cavaliers and Roundheads.

When the Cavaliers came out from dinner, eight or ten of them strolled in front of the Palace. There they found about a hundred men, armed with clubs, swords, and staves, bawling out "No Bishops! No Popish Lords! Hang up the Popish Lords!" Spying the group of officers, they shouted, "There stand redcoats, a knot of Papists!" and one of the crowd followed up the abuse by throwing a clot of dirt. On this 'the gentlemen, with their swords drawn, went over the rails to them, and so the affray began, many swords being drawn on either side, and those who would deliver their swords, the gentlemen gave them a kick, and bade them begone; others that resisted had some hurt.' Other similar combats—if combats they can be called—occurred in the neighbourhood. Some sixty citizens, according to one account, and one or two gentlemen were more or less injured.[2] As they went off, the citizens threatened to return on

The fray in front of Whitehall.

[1] The disturbance, of which an account will be immediately given, happened 'le jour que le Roy traittoit les colonnels et capitaines qui doibvent aller en Irelande.'—Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 2me sér. tome iii. 498.

[2] Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 2me sér. tome iii. 398. Examinations of Cox, Downs, and Sherlok, Dec. 29, *S. P. Dom.* The gentlemen 'in all their skirmishes have avoided thrust-

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM BROCKLEY

the morrow for their revenge. At Court it was expected that they would come 10,000 strong.[1]

In the face of this threat Charles finally determined to throw over the Lords. Instead of combining with them to set up some constitutional barrier against tumultous assemblies, he fell back upon the officers whom he had gathered round him. He directed that all the gentlemen of his Court should wear swords, and that a guard should be posted at Whitehall Gate. Those very men whose presence was offensive to both Houses were to form his mainstay in time of trouble.

Charles sets a guard at Whitehall.

Worse was yet to come. As the King was going to bed, Williams arrived with a protest, signed by himself and eleven other bishops, for presentation to the King and the Lords. The bishops, it declared, having been violently assaulted in coming to the House, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, could find 'no redress or protection.' They therefore protested that all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations made in their absence were null and void; or, in other words, that the vote of the 28th, declaring Parliament to be free, was to be set aside as irregular.[2] They concluded by asking the King to command that this protest should be entered amongst the records of the House.[3]

The protest of the bishops.

Was this protest, so memorable in its consequences, in reality the work of Williams? Charles took it from the hand of the Archbishop, and, without reading a word, gave it to Nicholas. The next morning Nicholas, also without reading a word, gave it to the Lord Keeper, with instructions to lay it before the Lords.[4] It is

Who was the author of it?

Dec. 30.

ing at them because they would not kill them.'—Slingsby to Pennington, Dec. 30, *S. P. Dom.*

[1] Smith to Pennington, Dec. 30, *S. P. Dom.*

[2] Rossetti distinctly points to this particular vote as the one to be annulled by the protest.—Rossetti to Barberini, Jan. $\frac{16}{26}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[3] *L. J.* iv. 496.

[4] Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, sér. 2me, tome iii. 497.

impossible to believe that if Charles had never seen it before he would not have taken the trouble to make himself master of its contents. The initiation of the plan may, in all probability, be traced to Digby, the most indiscreet of Charles's partisans. On the afternoon of the 28th he had been baffled in his attempt to obtain the assent of the Lords to a declaration that Parliament was no longer free. What can be more probable than that he was the suggester of a scheme by which that vote might be treated as null and void?

Effect of the protest on the Lords.

Whatever doubt may be entertained as to the authorship of the protest, there can be none as to its effect. At a time when the monarchy had no better friends in England than the Peers, it administered to them a severe rebuke by inviting the King to order them to register an assertion that Parliament was not free, in the teeth of their vote of the previous day. Even the proved fidelity of the Lords gave way before such an insult as this. They at once communicated the protest to the Commons as 'containing high and dangerous consequence,' and extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliament.[1] Once more the two Houses were of one mind. Charles had in a moment done all for which during many weary weeks Pym had been struggling in vain. No wonder that, when the news reached the Commons, not a few of the members were overjoyed, 'at this indiscreet and unadvised act of the bishops.'[2] At Pym's motion the doors were closed. He, at least, did not believe that the authors of the protest intended to confine themselves to words. There was, he said, a design to be executed upon the House of Commons that very day, and it was therefore desirable to ask the City to send their trained bands to guard the imperilled Parliament.[3]

The Lords side with the Commons.

Pym moves that the City trained bands should be sent for.

Impending danger.

There can be little doubt that Pym spoke on trustworthy information. It is inconceivable that so much trouble should have been taken to obtain an excuse for treating the Parliament as no longer free unless there had been

[1] *L. J.* iv. 496. [2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 294 b.
[3] *Ibid.* fol. 295.

an intention of proceeding against the leaders of the Commons as enslavers of the commonwealth. Nor was it merely the present position of the Commons that was at stake. If all that had been done in the Lords since December 27 was to be annulled on account of the pressure of the mob, all that had been done since the meeting of Parliament might be annulled on account of the pressure of the Scottish army. It would doubtless be unjust to the King to imagine that he seriously contemplated the reconstitution of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, especially as he did not need them for the purpose which he had now on hand; but there were certainly some amongst his followers who would have been glad to have treated the whole work of the Long Parliament as illegal. In a paper of jocular queries circulated in the City in the preceding summer, it was asked, 'whether statutes enforced upon the King with the awe of an army will be of any force hereafter,'[1] and there can be little doubt that many of the gentlemen now guarding Whitehall would be ready to answer the question in the negative. Those officers were growing formidable. "I never," wrote an observer of passing events, "saw the Court so full of gentlemen; every one comes thither with their swords. This day 500 gentlemen of the Inns of Court came to offer their services to the King. The officers of the army since these tumults have watched and kept a Court of Guard in the Presence Chamber, and are entertained upon the King's charge; a company of soldiers put into the Abbey for the defence of it. The citizens, for the most part, shut up their shops, and all gentlemen provide themselves with arms as in time of open hostility. Both factions look very big, and it is a wonder there is no more blood yet spilt, seeing how earnest both sides are. There is no doubt but if the King do not comply with the Commons in all things they desire a civil war must ensue, which every day we see approaches nearer."[2]

Civil war feared.

As usually happens before the outbreak of war, the deeper causes which made it possible were almost forgotten in the immediate dangers of the situation. On one side was the alarm

[1] Queries, Aug., *S. P. Dom.*

[2] Slingsby to Pennington, Dec. 30, *S. P. Dom.*

caused by the mob, on the other side was the alarm caused by the armed retinue of the King. Nor was it unlikely that the officers at Whitehall would soon have troops at their disposal. That very day drums were beating in the streets for the levy of the volunteers who were to form the army which was to be commanded by Lunsford and his comrades.[1]

Yet, in spite of all this, Pym found it hard to move the Commons to a full sense of the danger in which they were. They refused to assent to his motion for summoning the trained bands from the City, contenting themselves with again appealing to the Lords to join them in asking for a guard. In other respects the House was ready to answer to the signal given them by the Peers. At Pym's motion, the bishops who had signed the protest were impeached as guilty of high treason by endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the very being of Parliament. One member indeed said that 'he did not believe they were guilty of treason, but that they were stark mad; and therefore desired that they might be sent to Bedlam.'[2] No other voice was raised in their favour.

Impeachment of the bishops.

The impeachment was at once accepted by the Lords. Before night ten of the twelve found themselves in the Tower. The other two were sent to the House of the Usher of the Black Rod, on the ground of their age and infirmity.

Their imprisonment.

The wits made merry over Williams's mischance. One caricature represented him as a decoy duck leading his brethren into captivity. Another depicted him as clad in military guise, with a musket in his hand, and a bandoleer slung over his episcopal robes. Laud, it is said, was much amused at this last stroke of wit at his rival's expense.[3]

[1] The fact is mentioned in Salvetti's *News-Letter* of $\frac{\text{Dec. 31}}{\text{Jan. 10}}$, but as the arrest of the bishops is spoken of as having taken place—'questa sera'—it is evident that the passage was written on the 30th. A Committee of the Commons was named on the 31st to inquire into the matter.—*C. J.* ii. 365.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 363. *Clarendon*, iv. 145.

[3] Heylyn's *Cypr. Angl.* 492.

High Treason was a large word to apply to that which the bishops had done, most of them in mere inadvertence. There can, however, be no doubt that they had allowed themselves to become the tools of men more unscrupulous than themselves. Their protest was the first step in a course by which Charles was to make himself again master of the State under legal forms. Their impeachment was the first step in a course by which the leaders of the Commons were to make themselves masters of the State under legal forms. The two rival authorities had been playing a game for the good will of the House of Lords, and Charles, with victory in his hands, had thrown his chance away.

Intention of Pym.

No doubt Pym never thought of sending the bishops to the scaffold. It was enough for him if he could get rid of their adverse votes. From that time no more than four bishops took their seats in the House.[1] Yet, even then the peers persisted in their efforts at mediation. They still refused to ask that Essex might command the guard which all acknowledged to be necessary, on the ground that the King ought not to be pressed to name a particular person.[2]

The Peers persist in their mediation.

The moderation of the peers was lost on Charles. He took no steps to restore confidence. The Commons gave orders, as they had formerly done, to some of their own members who happened to be justices of the peace, to see to the security of their House. The next day they conveyed to the King an independent request for the appointment of the Earl of Essex, and directed halberts to be brought into the House for their own use in case of a sudden attack. At the same time they adjourned till January 3, ordering that a Committee of the whole House should meet at Guildhall. The House could not adjourn itself to any place but Westminster. A committee, it was now held, could meet anywhere.

The Commons protect themselves.

Dec. 31.

Both parties were of one mind in wishing to conciliate the

[1] On Jan. 3 and 4 there were only four bishops present.—*House of Lords' Minute Book.*

[2] *Ibid.*

City. On the same day as that on which the Committee was appointed, a request was addressed by the King to the Common Council, that they would lend their trained bands to preserve order, and the Common Council had answered in the affirmative.[1]

The City ready to preserve order.

Yet, in spite of this, the King's situation was sufficiently gloomy. It was probably on the following day, the first of the New Year, that he took the unexpected step of sending for Pym, and offering him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.[2] Whether Pym refused to come, or Charles repented his hasty decision, cannot now be known. Two hours later he had fixed on Culpepper for the post, with Falkland as his colleague in the vacant secretaryship. At the Sunday sitting of the 2nd, they were both sworn as Privy Councillors, though they did not officially take up their appointments till a few days later.

1642. Jan. 1. The King sends for Pym.

Jan. 2. Culpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer and Falkland Secretary.

In themselves, neither Culpepper nor Falkland was likely to render much assistance to Charles. Culpepper was a ready debater, and nothing more; whilst Falkland's sensitive mind was more anxious to avoid the responsibility of doing anything that he could not justify to himself, than to strike out the path of safety for others amongst the dangers which showed themselves on every side.

The real leader of the party in the Commons was Hyde, as Bristol was its leader in the Lords, though Hyde preferred to remain an unofficial adviser. What conduct Hyde would have

[1] *C. J.* ii. 364, 365. *An Exact Collection*, 30. *Rushworth*, iv. 472.

[2] "The King is too flexible and too good-natured; for within two hours, and a great deal less, before he made Culpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had sent a messenger to bring Pym unto him, and would have given him that place."—Dering to Lady Dering, Jan. 13. Larking's *Proceedings in Kent*, 66. As Mr. Forster shows, Culpepper was announced to the Council as Chancellor of the Exchequer on Sunday, the 2nd. The Council was usually held after the morning service, and it is more likely that the message to Pym would have been sent on Saturday than when the King was just going to the chapel. Besides, Culpepper may very well have been informed of his appointment on the 1st.

recommended at this conjuncture is of no historical importance. No doubt he regarded as traitorous the attempt to effect a change of law by bringing down a mob to intimidate the House of Lords ; and it is probable enough that he regarded Pym and a few others as having justly earned the penalty which he had himself joined in awarding to Strafford. But we may be sure that no reasonable man would have advised an attack upon the leaders of the Commons at a moment when the House of Lords had been alienated by conduct so irritating. If Charles was about to make a false move, it was not from Hyde, or Culpepper, that the impulse came.

Hyde as an unofficial adviser.

Just as Charles fancied that he had once more placed himself on constitutional ground, he received news from the City which must have filled him with agony and alarm. There had been, it was said, long secret conferences amongst the Parliamentary leaders, who had betaken themselves to Guildhall to attend the Committee. They had convinced themselves that the Queen was at the root of the mischief, and had resolved to impeach her as having conspired against the public liberties, and as having held intelligence with the Irish rebels.[1]

The Parliamentary leaders are said to intend to impeach the Queen.

[1] They, wrote the Venetian ambassador, 'fermati in lunghe secrete conferenze, persuaderano a se stessi che le mosse del Rè et i rissentimenti di lui procedessero da consigli della Regina, deliberarono perciò di accusarla in Parlamento di conspiratione contro la libertà publica, e di secreta intelligenza nelle sollevationi d' Irlanda, il che tutto penetrato dalle Maestà loro prese espediente il Rè di abandonare l' uso della disimulatione, e dichiarare al Parlamento della Camera Alta colpev li di tradimento cinque Parlamentarii della Bassa ed uno della Alta.'—Giustinian to the Doge, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Ven. Transcripts*. Heenvliet says much the same thing : 'qu'ils commencèrent à parler, comm' on m'a dit, de mettre la main sur la Royne, et que ce n'estoyent que ces six surnommés.'—Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 2me sér. t me iii. 497. An English letter reports that 'it is said Parliament have been treating of something concerning the Queen, *et hinc illæ lacrymæ*.'—Berners to Hobart, Jan. 10, *Tanner MSS.* lxvi. fol. 234. All this bears out Clarendon's statement (iv. 280). On Jan. 20 Stapleton informed the Commons that the

No one knew better than Henrietta Maria what a crushing case could be made out against her. Army plots and Irish plots, intrigues with the Pope and intrigues with the Prince of Orange, must have stood out clearly in her memory, to be recalled not with shame, but with regret. In such a mood she may well have given ear to the intemperate Digby, who was in the same case with herself. Since his declaration that Parliament was not free, impeachment stared him in the face.

The Queen's fear.

To impeach the impeachers of the Queen was the course which recommended itself to that impetuous counsellor.[1] It was what Strafford had urged Charles to do, fourteen months before, and to Strafford's rejected advice Charles came at last. Hesitating and irresolute as he was, he could hesitate no longer. The danger of his wife touched him more nearly than his own. To save her from insult and ruin he had sacrificed his most faithful minister. For her dear sake he was ready now to stake his throne.

The assailants to be impeached.

Five members of the House of Commons—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazlerigg, and Strode—were selected as the main offenders. There can be no doubt that, if by the fundamental laws of England was meant that constitutional arrangement which had prevailed in the days of Elizabeth, they were guilty of treason at least as much as Strafford had been guilty. If he had done his best to reduce parliaments to a cipher, they had done their best to reduce the Royal authority to a cipher. The true defence of both Strafford and Pym was that the old constitution had broken down and

The charge against the five members.

Queen told Newport 'that articles had been preferred to her which should be put into Parliament against her.'—D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 339. Afterwards the Queen said 'she never saw any articles in writing,' which does not necessarily clash with her former statement.—*An Exact Collection*, 68.

[1] Clarendon's assertion about Digby seems to me entirely in accordance with probability, in spite of Mr. Forster's argument, as the latter was not aware of the strength of the evidence on the proposed attack on the Queen. The quotation at p. 137 from Bates's *Elenchus motuum*, to the effect that the King's course was taken 'by the advice of some of the Privy Council who were themselves members of the House,' is hardly sufficient authority.

needed reconstruction; but this argument, if it had been made at the time, would not have been likely, so far as Pym was concerned, to find favour with Charles.

In conducting these operations, the utmost secrecy was to be maintained. Of the law officers of the Crown, the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Herbert, was alone consulted. He received instructions, written in the King's own hand, directing him, as soon as the charge was laid before the peers, to ask for a secret committee to examine evidence. If Essex, Warwick, Holland, Saye, Mandeville, Wharton, or Brooke were named as members of it, he was to object, on the ground that the King intended to call them as witnesses. Subsequently, Mandeville's name was scratched out of this list, and orders were given to impeach him together with the five members of the Lower House.[1] Digby, it was said, had offered to prove that when the rabble appeared at the doors of Parliament, Mandeville had bidden them to go to Whitehall.[2] As a point of tactics, as great a mistake was made by this resolution as had been made in the protest of the bishops. It called on the Lords to sacrifice a member of their own House.

Instructions to the Attorney-General.

Jan. 2.

The impeachment was fixed for the next day, January 3. As soon as the Lords met, Herbert appeared to charge with treason the six persons designated in his instructions. They had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government—to deprive the King of his legal power, and to place in subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and estates of his Majesty's liege people. They had 'endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his Majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people.' They had 'endeavoured to draw his Majesty's late army to disobedience to his Majesty's commands, and to side with them in their traitorous designs.' They had 'traitorously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his Majesty's Kingdom of England.' They had 'traitorously endeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of Parliaments.' They had 'endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and

Jan. 3. The impeachment.

[1] Notes by the Attorney-General, *Nicholas MSS.*

[2] *Clarendon*, iv. 155.

terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs, and to that end had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.' Lastly, they had 'traitorously conspired to levy, and actually had levied, war upon the King.'[1]

As soon as the charge had been recited, Herbert asked for the arrest of the incriminated persons, and for the appointment of a committee to examine into the accusation against them.

Feeling of the Peers.

Under ordinary circumstances, the House of Lords would have rallied round the throne. On that day four bishops were present, and fifty-five lay peers, of whom only twenty-one afterwards opposed Charles in the Civil War.[2] Yet, the Lords were in no mood to encourage an act of violence, even when it took a legal shape. Digby, who had undertaken to move for Mandeville's arrest as soon as the Attorney-General had done his part, whispered to Mandeville that the King was ill-advised, and hurried out of the House.[3] He doubtless gathered from the looks of the peers that he would fail to carry his motion. As soon as he was gone the Lords appointed a committee to inquire whether the Attorney-General's procedure had been according to law.

Committee of inquiry named.

Already, before the news of the impeachment reached them, the Commons were in considerable excitement. The King's answer to their petition for a guard had just reached them. "We," said Charles, "are wholly ignorant of the grounds of your apprehensions; but this we do protest before Almighty God, to whom we must be accountable for those whom He hath entrusted to our care and protection, that had we any knowledge or belief of the least design of any violence, either formerly or at this time against you, we would pursue them to condign punishment, with the same severity and detestation that we would do the greatest attempt upon our Crown, . . . and we do engage unto you solemnly the word of a King, that the security of all and every one of you from violence, is, and shall ever be, as much our care as the preservation of us and our children; and, if this general assurance

The King's answer to the demand for a guard.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 501.
[2] *House of Lords' Minute Book.*
[3] *Clarendon*, iv. 154.

shall not suffice to remove your apprehensions, we will command such a guard to wait upon you as we will be responsible for to Him who hath charged us with the safety and protection of our subjects." [1]

The words were written on the 31st, before the impeachment of the members had been determined on. Yet, even now, there was nothing in them which Charles would care to disavow. In his own mind he was meditating a legal process against traitors, not a deed of violence. To the Commons his proceedings might bear another aspect. After some conversation on the dangers in the midst of which they were walking, a message was sent to the City to ask that the trained bands might be made ready.

The Commons appeal to the City.

By this time the news of the impeachment had probably reached the House. Then Pym rose to say that his own study, as well as those of Holles and Hampden, had been sealed up by the King's directions. It was at once resolved that to do this without leave from the House was a breach of privilege. In this the Lords were asked to concur, as well as in a resolution that the assemblage of soldiers at Whitehall was a breach of privilege. The Commons also requested the Peers to insist on having a guard to be approved of by both Houses.

Members' studies sealed up.

Before anything could be done, the Serjeant-at-Arms appeared with orders from Charles to arrest the five members. A committee was named to acquaint the King that the demand concerned their privileges, and that they would send a reply as soon as they had given it full consideration. In the meantime, the gentlemen named would be ready to answer any legal accusation. That this might be made plain, the five members were ordered to appear in their places from day to day.

The arrest of the five members demanded.

Whether the King's attempt to arrest the members was justifiable or not, it was one more offence given to the Lords. They had hitherto been in the habit of deciding on the arrest of impeached persons, and they had just appointed a committee to inquire what was the

Offence given to the Lords.

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 471.

proper course to pursue. Instead of trusting the Lords, Charles had sent to arrest five out of the six accused persons in his own name. The Lords at once took up the challenge. They ordered the studies which had been sealed up to be broken open, and, abandoning the position which they had hitherto maintained, they agreed to join in the request for such a guard as would satisfy the two Houses. A week before a large majority of the Peers was on Charles's side. He could no longer count even on a minority. The Commons, as might have been expected, went further than the Lords. They arrested the officers who had sealed up the doors of their members.[1]

The King's feelings.

It is easy to understand that Charles saw nothing in all this but a sheer defiance of his authority. He honestly believed that Pym and his associates were engaged in an attempt to alter by force the existing order of things, and he no less honestly believed that that existing order was good for England as well as for himself. In appealing to law, he appealed to that which seemed to him to be entirely on his side. As to precedents and legal maxims, he doubtless troubled himself very little about them. In England, precedents and maxims had grown up around the double centre of Parliament and the King, and something at least might be quoted on either side. At all events, Charles could remember having frequently heard that no privilege of Parliament was available against treason, and in 1626 his Attorney-General had accused Bristol before the Lords, without being met by any objection to the course pursued.[2]

Preparations for action.

That evening Charles took counsel with his intimates at Whitehall. Urged on by Digby and the Queen,[3] he resolved to go in person to secure the members, if necessary, in Parliament itself. He had on his side the trusty

[1] *L. J.* iv. 501. *C. J.* ii. 366. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. 300 b.

[2] "He had a precedent for it, in his own time, of Sir R. Heath, his then Attorney's impeaching of myself of High Treason, which impeachment was received and admitted of by the House of Peers."—*An Apology of John Earl of Bristol* (E. 897), p. 53.

[3] This seems to have been the meeting referred to by Clarendon, iv. 154.

Cavaliers at Whitehall. The Tower was in Byron's hands, and Byron would keep it safely. Thirty or forty artillerymen were introduced into the fortress, and the men of the Tower Hamlets, who formed the usual garrison, were deprived of their arms.[1] An answer to the petition of the House was prepared, in which Charles announced his intention of giving them a guard selected by the Lord Mayor, and commanded by the Earl of Lindsey; and he knew that both the Lord Mayor and Lindsey could be trusted.[2]

The Lord Mayor to keep order in the City.

This answer was never sent. A message was despatched to the Lord Mayor, bidding him to refuse obedience to orders from the Commons, and to raise the trained bands to keep the peace in the City, and even to fire on rioters if it were necessary. Gurney was already in bed when the message reached him, but he promised to obey the directions given when morning came.[3] Charles might well hope that no mob from the City would appear at Westminster on the morrow. At the same time, Sir William Killigrew and Sir William Fleming were sent round to the Inns of Court, charged to exhibit the articles against the members, and to ask the lawyers who had come to Whitehall in the last week to defend the King, to keep within doors on the following day, and to be 'ready at a moment's warning.'[4]

Object of these preparations.

If the members were to be arrested at all, common prudence would have dictated an attempt to seize them in their beds, as the French Parliamentary leaders were seized in 1851. Such a course it was impossible for Charles to adopt. He wanted—if it were but for the satisfaction of his own mind—to preserve the appearance of legality, and he

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 303 b.

[2] Answer for a guard, *Forster's Arrest of the Five Members*, 116, note.

[3] The King to the Lord Mayor, Jan. 3. Latch to Nicholas, Jan. 4, *Forster*, 157, 159. The Queen Mother afterwards told Rossetti that her daughter had written to her in these words: "I rumori di quà si sono condotti à segno tale che all' arrivo di questa lettera in Colonia bisogna ò che noi siamo rovinati ò che il Re assolutamente commandi."—Rossetti to Barberini, $\frac{\text{Jan. 23}}{\text{Feb. 2}}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[4] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 305 b.

probably imagined that he could persuade even the House of Commons of the rectitude of his intentions. No doubt he must have sufficient force about him to secure his object, and to compel obedience if it were denied. It was not in his character to expect a persistent refusal, or to represent clearly to himself the bloodshed which might ensue in case of resistance.

Charles little imagined that before he went to bed that night his secret was already known.[1] Very possibly Clarendon may have been right in thinking that Will Murray was the betrayer. The next morning, when the House met, the five members protested their innocency.[2] The Commons

The secret betrayed.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 306 b.

[2] Mr. Forster here introduces long speeches of Pym and Hampden, without giving any reference. They are to be found in two contemporary pamphlets. On the title-page of Pym's speech the date given is Wednesday the 5th of January, and the other is said to have been spoken by Mr. Hampden, burgess for Buckingham (!), on Wednesday the 4th. Some one has corrected this date to the 5th. Surely Mr. Forster ought not to have dated the speeches on the 4th without remark! A further examination of Pym's speech shows that it cannot possibly have been spoken on the 4th. Amongst queries proposed, according to Mr. Forster (p. 164), is 'whether to beset the doors of the House during such accusation' be not a breach of privilege, which is followed by a reflection that 'the last question had a pregnant meaning on the morning of this eventful day, but its full significance was still to come.' The actual question assigned to Pym in the printed speech is 'whether for a guard armed to come into the Parliament to accuse any of the members thereof be not a breach of the privilege thereof.' Obviously this cannot have been said till after the attempt of the 4th. This is, however, equivalent to saying that it cannot have been said at all. As Mr. Forster was aware, Pym was not in the House on the 5th, having taken refuge in the City. Neither can he have spoken it at any time in the City, as it is addressed to Mr. Speaker, and the House was then in committee. Besides, there is not the slightest trace of any such speech then occurring. As for the dates assigned, in reality the 5th was on a Wednesday. We have further three other printed speeches, one assigned to Hazlerigg, as on Tuesday the 4th, one to Holles, as on Wednesday the 5th, one to Strode, as on Tuesday the 3rd, and to crown the absurdity one said to be Lord Kimbolton's (Mandeville's) addressed to Mr. Speaker. I have no doubt that they are all forgeries. It is to the point that on Jan. 25 one Martin Eldred confessed that a young Cambridge scholar forged a petition for him, which a stationer printed, purchasing it for half a crown, on which D'Ewes said 'that there were now

sent up the articles of accusation to the Lords as a scandalous paper, accompanying them with a request that inquiry might be made into its authorship. Messages were sent to the Inns of Court, to express the assurance of the House that their members would not act against Parliament. Soon afterwards news was brought 'that there was a great confluence of armed men about Whitehall,' and it was known that measures had been taken to secure the Tower for the King. A fresh message was thereupon sent off to warn the City. Nothing more had been done when the House adjourned for the dinner hour at noon.[1]

Jan. 4. Meeting of the Commons.

If the blow had not already fallen, it was because Charles had been involved in his usual vacillation. According to a not improbable account, he had that morning sought out the Queen, and had given strong reasons against the execution of the plan. Henrietta Maria was in no mood to accept excuses. "Go, you coward!" she cried, "and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more." Charles bowed to fate and his high-spirited wife, and left her, resolved to hang back no longer.[2] Again there was delay, perhaps on account of the adjournment at midday; and before Charles actually left Whitehall the Queen had trusted the secret to her ill-chosen confidante Lady Carlisle, and Lady Carlisle at once conveyed the news to Essex.

abiding in and about London certain loose, beggarly scholars, who did in alehouses invent speeches, and make speeches of members in the House.' On Feb. 9, D'Ewes again spoke to the effect 'that there had [been] much wrong offered of late to several members of this House by publishing speeches in their names which they never spake. I had yesternight a speech brought to me by a stationer, to whom one John Bennet, a poet lodging in Shoe Lane, sold it for 2*s.* 6*d.* to be printed. It was pretended to be spoken at a conference with the Lords on Friday last, when the Bill for taking away the bishops' vote was carried up, at which time there was no conference at all about that matter. . . . He hath fathered this speech upon me.'—D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 351 b; 376.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 304 b.

[2] So far from Anchitell Grey's note in *Echard*, ii. 520. The betrayal by Lady Carlisle is given by Madame de Motteville, and may be accepted in general terms, though the details are manifestly incorrect. On other versions see *Forster*, 139.

Before dinner was over the five accused members received a message from Essex, telling them that the King was coming in person to seize them, and recommending them to withdraw. They could not make up their minds as yet to fly. In truth, Charles was still hesitating in his usual fashion, and it might be that he would never accomplish his design. When the House met again at one, satisfactory replies were received from the Inns of Court. The lawyers said that they had gone to Whitehall, because they were bound to defend the King's person, but that they were also ready to defend the Parliament. The Lords, too, had shown themselves resolute, and had agreed to join the Commons in styling the Attorney-General's Articles a scandalous paper.[1]

Warnings sent to the five members.

Answers from the Inns of Court.

Then came a statement from Fiennes. He had been to Whitehall during the adjournment, and had been told by the officers that they had been commanded to obey Sir William Fleming, one of the two who had been sent round to enlist the lawyers on the King's side.

Fiennes's story.

The full meaning of this news was soon to appear. It may be that the contemptuous term applied to the accusation which he had authorised had at last goaded Charles to action. Late—but, as she fondly hoped, not too late—the Queen had her way. About three o'clock, Charles, taking with him the Elector Palatine, hurried downstairs, calling out, "Let my faithful subjects and soldiers follow me." Throwing himself into a coach which happened to be near the door he drove off, followed by some three or four hundred armed men.[2]

The King sets out from Whitehall.

Such a number could not march at any great speed. A Frenchman, named Langres, who had probably been set to watch by the Ambassador La Ferté, pushed through the crowd, and ran swiftly to the House of

The news carried to the House.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 305 b. *L. J.* iv. 503. It is impossible to reconcile the story told by Madame de Motteville about the Queen and Lady Carlisle with anything that can possibly have occurred.

[2] Giustinian's despatch, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

Commons.[1] He at once called out Fiennes and told him what he had seen.[2] The five members were at once requested to withdraw. Pym, Hampden, Hazlerigg and Holles took the course which prudence dictated. Strode, always impetuous, insisted on remaining to face the worst, till Erle seized him by the cloak and dragged him off to the river-side, where boats were always to be found. The five were all conveyed in safety to the City.[3]

Escape of the five members.

It was high time for them to be gone. Charles's fierce retinue struck terror as it passed. The shopkeepers in the mean buildings which had been run up against the north end of Westminster Hall hastily closed their windows. Charles alighted and strode rapidly through the Hall between the ranks of the armed throng. As he mounted the steps which led to the House of Commons, he gave the signal to his followers to await his return there. About eighty of them, however, probably in consequence of previous orders, pressed after him into the lobby, and it was afterwards noticed that 'divers of the late army in the North, and other desperate ruffians' had been selected for this post.

Arrival of the King.

Charles did his best to maintain a show of decency. He sent a message to the House, informing them of his arrival. As he entered, with the young Elector Palatine at his side, he bade his followers on their lives to remain outside. But he clearly wished it to be known that he was prepared to use force if it were necessary. The Earl of Roxburgh leaned against the door, keeping it open so that the members might see what they had to expect in case of resistance. By Roxburgh's side stood Captain David Hyde, one of the greatest scoundrels in England.[4] The rest were armed with

Scene in the lobby.

[1] D'Ewes says that the Frenchman 'passed through the troop.' Mr. Forster, misreading the last word as 'roof,' makes him climb over the roofs of the houses, in which case he would hardly have reached his destination in time.

[2] La Ferté's despatch, Jan. $\frac{6}{16}$, *Arch. des Aff. Etr.* xlix. fol. 8. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 310 b. [3] *Ibid.* fol. 306 b.

[4] See the account of him in Webb's *Memorials of the Civil War in Herefordshire*, i. 219.

swords and pistols, and many of them had left their cloaks in the Hall with the evident intention of leaving the sword-arm free.

As Charles stepped through the door which none of his predecessors had ever passed,[1] he was, little as he thought it, formally acknowledging that power had passed into new hands. The revolution which his shrewd father had descried when he bade his attendants to set stools for the deputies of the Commons as for the ambassadors of a king, was now a reality before him. He had come to the Commons because they would no longer come to him. To Charles the new constitutional fact was merely a temporary interruption of established order. In his eyes there was visible no more than a mortal duel between King Charles and King Pym. As he moved forwards, the members standing bare-headed on either side, his glance, perhaps involuntarily, sought the place on the right hand near the bar which was usually occupied by Pym. That seat was empty. It was the one thing for which he was unprepared. "By your leave, Mr. Speaker," he said, as he reached the upper end of the House, "I must borrow your chair a little." Standing in front of it, he cast his eyes around, seeking for those who were by this time far away.

The King enters the House,

and takes the Speaker's chair.

"Gentlemen," he said at last, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a Serjeant-at-Arms upon a very important occasion to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here that, albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges to maintain them to the uttermost of his power than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege; and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here."

The King's speech.

Once more he cast his eyes around. "I do not see any of them," he muttered. "I think I should know them." "For I

[1] Except Henry VIII., as Slingsby wrote; but surely this is only an indistinct reminiscence of Wolsey's presentation of himself before the Commons.

must tell you, gentlemen," he went on to say, in continuation of his interrupted address, "that so long as those persons that I have accused—for no slight crime, but for treason—are here, I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them."

Looks in vain for the five members.

Then, hoping against hope that he had not come in vain, he put the question, "Is Mr. Pym here?" There was no reply, and a demand for Holles was no less fruitless. Charles turned to Lenthall. "Are any of these persons in the House?" he asked. "Do you see any of them? Where are they?" Lenthall was not a great or heroic man, but he knew what his duty was. He now gave voice, in words of singular force and dexterity, to the common feeling that no individual expression of the intentions or opinions of the House was permissible. "May it please your Majesty," he said, falling on his knee before the King, "I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place but as this House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."

Asks whether they are present.

The Speaker's answer.

"Well," replied Charles, assuming a cheerfulness which he can hardly have felt, "I think my eyes are as good as another's." Once more he looked carefully along the benches. "Well," he said, "I see all the birds are flown. I do expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither. If not, I will seek them myself, for their treason is foul, and such a one as you will thank me to discover. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. I see I cannot do what I came for. I think this is no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it."[1]

"The birds are flown."

[1] I have put my account together from the narratives in *Rushworth*,

So Charles spoke, and so no doubt he thought. He did not intend to assassinate the five whom he accused, any more than Pym had a year before intended to assassinate Strafford. But he meant again to be King of England, as he and his father before him had understood kingship. It would not be his fault if resistance brought bloodshed with it.

He knew now that, for the time at least, he was baffled. As he left the House, with gloom on his brow, he could hear the cries of 'Privilege! privilege!' raised behind him. His armed followers were exasperated at the failure. Those minutes of waiting had sadly tried their patience. Strange words had fallen from the lips of some of them. "I warrant you," said one, cocking his pistol, "I am a good marksman, I will hit sure." "A pox take the House of Commons," growled another: "let them be hanged if they will." When the King reappeared there was a general cry for the word which was to let them loose. "How strong is the House of Commons?" asked one. "Zounds!" cried another, as soon as the absence of the five was known, "they are gone, and now we are never the better for our coming." The general feeling of these men was doubtless expressed by an officer on the following day. He and his comrades, he said, had come 'because they heard that the House of Commons would not obey the King, and therefore they came to force them to it; and he believed, in the posture that they were set, that if the word had been given, they should certainly have fallen upon the House of Commons.'[1]

The King withdraws.

Impatience of his followers.

Such was the shape which Charles's legal and peaceable action took in the eyes of those whom he had called on to execute his design. The Commons at once adjourned, with the sense that they had but just escaped a massacre. The orderly D'Ewes testified his opinion of the danger by stepping to his lodgings and immediately making his will.[2]

Adjournment of the House.

D'Ewes, and the *Verney Notes*. Compare *Forster*, 184, and Slingsby's letter printed by him in a note to p. 194.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 306 b, 310.

[2] *Ibid.* clxiii. fol. 121 b.

Charles could not afford to acknowledge that he had failed. The next day he set out for the City, hoping to obtain there what he had not obtained at Westminster. He took with him in his coach Hamilton, Essex, Holland, and Newport, perhaps with the idea of sheltering himself under their popularity. The rumour spread that he was carrying them with him in order to imprison them in the Tower. Multitudes poured into the streets in no gentle humour. At last he reached Guildhall and made his demand to the Common Council. After he had spoken there was a long silence, broken at last by shouts of 'Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!' The meeting was, however, not unanimous. Cries as loud of "God bless the King!" were heard. Charles asked that those who had anything to say should speak their minds. "It is the vote of this Court," cried one, "that your Majesty hear the advice of your Parliament." "It is not the vote of this Court," cried another, "it is your own vote." "Who is it," asked the King, "that says I do not take the advice of my Parliament? I do take their advice; but I must distinguish between the Parliament and some traitors in it. Those I would bring to a legal trial." On this a man sprang on a form and shouted out, "Privileges of Parliament!" Charles repeated what he had said in a slightly altered form. "I have and will observe all privileges of Parliament, but no privileges can protect a traitor from a legal trial." In spite of the division of opinion, it was evident that there would be no surrender of the members. As the King passed out there was a loud shout of "Privileges of Parliament!" from the crowd outside. He stopped to dine with one of the sheriffs. On his way back to Whitehall the streets rang with the cry of "Privileges of Parliament!" One bold man threw into his coach a paper on which was written "To your tents, O Israel!" The allusion to Rehoboam's deposition was one which Charles could not fail to understand.[1]

Jan. 5. The King in the City.

"To your tents, O Israel!"

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 479. La Ferté's despatch, Jan. $\frac{6}{16}$, *Arch. des Aff. Étr.* xlix. fol. 8. Slingsby to Pennington, Jan. 6. Wiseman to Pennington, Jan. 6, *S. P. Dom.*

Every hour that passed leaving the five members still at liberty told against Charles. Whilst he was in the City the Houses met as usual at Westminster. The Commons contented themselves with drawing up a declaration in vindication of their broken privileges, after which they adjourned to the 11th, appointing a committee, in which any member who came might take part, to sit in the interval at Guildhall. As far as the rules of the House would permit, the Commons put themselves under the protection of the City.

Parliament at Westminster.

A committee to sit at Guildhall.

The order was made in the midst of great excitement. It was rumoured that the scene of the preceding day was to be repeated, and that Charles was coming to arrest a fresh batch of members.[1]

It is possible that the rumour was based on a proposal which appears to have been made by Digby soon after Charles's return from the City. If he might take with him Lunsford and a party of Cavaliers, he would tear the traitors from their hiding-places.[2] Charles was not prepared for open violence, and preferred to issue a proclamation commanding all his loving subjects to arrest them and to lodge them in the Tower, to be safely kept till they could be 'brought to trial according to justice.' Nothing was said of Mandeville, probably in order to avoid further collision with the Lords.

Digby's proposal.

Proclamation for the arrest of the members.

Already the City had declared against Charles. The Common Council, so divided in his presence, had, as soon as he was gone, agreed on a petition in which the cause of the five members was openly assumed to be just.[3]

The City petition.

The next day the Commons' Committee met at Guildhall. They at once proceeded to make out a case against the King, and began by voting that the impeachment itself was illegal. The debate which preceded this resolution has not been preserved, and we cannot tell how the strong precedent of Bristol's case was got rid of, unless it was

Jan. 6. The Committee at Guildhall.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 308 b.

[2] *Clarendon*, iv. 155.

[3] *Common Council Journal Book*, xl. fol. 12.

argued that it applied merely to a member of the House of Lords. But it was felt that the main outrage lay, not in the impeachment, but in the attempted arrest. Treason, urged D'Ewes, must have been committed in the House or out of it. If the former were the case, only the House itself could bear witness of it, and its consent was therefore necessary to a trial; if the latter, the House must be satisfied of the truth of the charge before surrendering its members, 'for else, all privilege of Parliament must of necessity be destroyed, for by the same reason that they accuse one of the said members, they may accuse forty or fifty upon imaginary or false treasons.'

D'Ewes's argument on the privileges of Parliament.

D'Ewes's last words had hit upon the actual danger. Antiquary as he was, he was more successful in laying down principles than in supporting them with precedents. He quoted two cases, one of which applied only to words spoken, whilst the other would have made against his own argument if it had been accurately stated.[1] A third precedent on which he relied was more to the point. He showed that the Peers, after trying several Commoners for the murder of Edward II., had declared, with the King's assent, that they would henceforward try no one who was not of their own order.[2]

He misquotes precedents.

After this, the Committee turned its attention to the legality of the warrant on which the arrest had been made. It was

[1] The last case is Parry's. D'Ewes asserted that Parry, 'being a member of the House of Commons, was first delivered up by them to safe custody, and arraigned and condemned of High Treason.' In his own collection of the Journals of the Parliaments of Elizabeth, we find under Feb. 11, 1585; "Upon a motion made by Mr. Digges, that Dr. Parry, a late unworthy member of this House, and now prisoner in the Tower, . . . hath so misbehaved himself as deserveth his said imprisonment in the Tower." On this it was resolved 'that he be disabled to be any longer a member of this House.' Parry, in fact, was arrested, and the House was subsequently acquainted with the occurrence and expelled him. On Feb. 12 D'Ewes explained that Parry was expelled 'before any indictment of treason was preferred against him.'—*Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 384 b. This, however, is not to the point, as the question related to his arrest.

[2] *Rolls of Parl.* ii. 54.

resolved that the King could not himself issue a warrant. It must be issued by ministers who would be responsible for all that should be done. Then returning to the point which had been previously discussed, the Committee resolved that no member of the House could be arrested without the consent of the House. Whether this last resolution were justifiable by precedent or not, the former one was only a slight extension of a doctrine as old as that on which Charles relied when he declared that there could be no privilege of Parliament in case of treason. "A subject," it had been laid down by Chief Justice Markham, "may arrest for treason. The King cannot, for, if the arrest be illegal, the party has no remedy against the King."[1]

Question of the legality of the warrant.

After all, there is something unreal in these arguments on both sides from law and precedent. Law and precedent are serviceable as safeguards against the arrogance of force. They secure a fair trial to those who are accused of a definite crime acknowledged by general consent to be punishable if it has really been committed. There was no such general consent now. On one hand it was held to be treason to assail the authority of Parliament. On the other side it was held to be treason to assail the authority of the King. It was a question of sovereignty, and no judges, whether they sat in the House of Lords or in Westminster Hall, could be trusted to decide that.

Law and precedent useless here.

The question of sovereignty.

Nor was that all. Behind the question of sovereignty rose a twofold conception of life—religious, ecclesiastical, and political—which divided Charles from the Commons by a gulf which it was impossible to bridge over. To each of the parties in the strife the other seemed bent on imposing its ideas upon the whole nation by force or fraud. For this the Parliamentary leaders had welcomed the intervention of the Scots, and the turbulent violence of the City mobs. For this Charles had intrigued with Irish Catholics and Scottish Protestants, with the English army and with

Twofold conception of life.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. 308 b.

the agent of the Pope. Compromise was hardly possible now. Even the House of Lords had been unable to find a common ground of pacification. Yet, perhaps in some measure because he was the weaker party, the intrigues of Charles had been far more dangerous than those of the leaders of the Commons. The tumults which they had encouraged were visible to the eye, and were calculated to arouse resistance from all peaceable and law-abiding men. A little patience, a little self-restraint, would have sufficed to banish them from the scene and enable Charles to triumph over disorder. The King's appeals were made to forces which were invisible, and the danger from which was beyond calculation. The Commons knew that they had not merely to deal with the armed garrison of Whitehall. These men were but the officers of that force of 10,000 volunteers which Charles had engaged to raise for the Irish war. It is hard in these days to keep before our eyes the mass of ignorance and untaught brutality on which the society of the 17th century rested. It is useless to plead that that society was in no danger because the Hydes and Falklands wished for nothing but constitutional government. The real danger lay in the military organisation of that lower class which cared nothing for the Hydes and Falklands, and which was to be drilled and disciplined by swashbucklers like Lunsford. And behind this terror lay a worse. Indistinct as was the information possessed by the Commons, there were grave reasons to suspect that the King was ready to make use of the Irish insurgents against the English Parliament, and, as we now know, the suspicion was not wholly without foundation. The name of the Queen was still more freely used than that of her husband. Men spoke openly of the troubles in Ireland as the Queen's rebellion.[1] The belief was not likely to die out whilst courtiers were heard to say of the Irish that their 'grievances were great, their demands moderate,' and that they might 'stand the King in much stead.'[2]

A compromise impossible.

Dangers of the Commons.

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$.

[2] Slingsby to Pennington, Jan. 6, *S. P. Dom.*

Men's minds were everywhere predisposed to panic. The guardian of the peace had become the aggressor, and hardly anything seemed unlikely or impossible. That night an alarm was raised, probably an echo of Digby's rejected proposal. The Lord Mayor was asked to call out the trained bands. On his refusal the trained bands dispensed with his authority. No less than 40,000 men turned out completely armed to defend their homes, and 100,000 more appeared with halberts, swords, and clubs. As soon as it was ascertained that they had been misled by false news, the Lord Mayor had little difficulty in sending them home to their beds. That night of panic gave evidence that Charles had not merely to face the riotous apprentices who had irritated him at Westminster. The tradesman's love of peace and order, which had manifested itself in his favour on his return from Scotland, had passed over to his opponents, as the House of Lords had passed over to his opponents a few days before.[1]

Panic in the City.

The next day's Committee was held at Grocers' Hall. It was for some time occupied in hearing evidence on the conduct of the soldiers who had followed Charles to the House. After this an intimation was given to the five members that they should take their seats on the 10th, the day before the resumption of the sittings at Westminster.

Evidence of intention to attack the Commons.

Could the House again sit at Westminster in safety? Hitherto the King had shown no signs of flinching. On the 7th, a herald, standing in front of Whitehall, proclaimed all the six impeached persons as traitors. Charles ordered the Lord Mayor to do the same in the City. Gurney could no longer do as he would. He replied that the proclamation was against law. An official who was sent on the hopeless task of effecting the arrest returned without his prey, having been 'much abused by the worse sort of people.'[2] On the following day the King gave a fierce reply to a City petition in favour of the

The King still resolute.

Jan. 8.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 309 b.

[2] Giustinian's despatch, Jan. $\frac{14}{24}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.* Carteret to Pennington, Jan. 7, *S. P. Dom.*

members, and an Order in Council bade the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to secure the person who, on the night of the panic, had dared to call out the trained bands without authority.[1]

In the face of this danger the Committee cut the knot of the long-agitated question of the guard. A resolution was passed declaring it to be legal to require the sheriffs to bring the force of the county for the security of Parliament. It was further resolved that, as there was no law in existence on the subject of the militia, the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common Council ought 'on this pressing and extraordinary occasion' to appoint the officers and to raise men.[2]

The Committee demands a guard from the City.

The next day was Sunday. It is easy to imagine the sermons that were preached, and the quiet, heartfelt joy at the great deliverance, not unmixed with proud satisfaction at the part played by the City in guarding the Commons of England from harm.

Jan. 9. A Sunday in the City.

On Monday morning Philip Skippon, the Captain of the Artillery Garden, was appointed Sergeant-Major-General, to take the command of the City trained bands. A pious, practical soldier, who had risen from the ranks, he was the very man to command a Puritan force. "Come, my boys," he once said when battle was approaching, "my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you."[3] He was now ordered to raise a guard for offence or defence. The request of the Commons' Committee, on which this authority was conferred, was at last backed by a similar request from a Committee of the Lords.[4] All the constituted authorities were now against Charles. The popular current ran in the same direction. The seamen and mariners of the Thames offered to join in the defence of the Houses, and their offer was gladly accepted.

Jan. 10. Skippon appointed to command.

Offer of the seamen and mariners.

[1] The King's answer, *Rushworth*, iv. 481. The Council to the Lord Mayor, Jan. 8, *S. P. Dom.*

[2] *Common Council Journal Book*, xi. fol. 14.

[3] *Whitelocke*, 65.

[4] *Common Council Journal Book*, xi. fol. 15.

As soon as these arrangements had been made, the five members entered the Committee and received a hearty welcome. Soon afterwards a deputation from the apprentices arrived to ask permission to join in the morrow's procession. The Committee, mindful of the alarm which might be caused by the re-appearance of these frolicsome lads upon the scene, gravely requested them to guard the City in the absence of their masters. Then came an announcement from Hampden, that some thousands of his constituents were on their way from Buckinghamshire with a petition. At first the Committee felt some anxiety at the approach of so numerous a body, but it was at last resolved to throw no opposition in their way. Finally an offer was accepted from the men of Southwark to guard their own side of the river.[1]

The five members in the Committee.

Further arrangements for the return to Westminster.

By the time that these arrangements were completed Charles was no longer at Westminster. On the 9th he had become aware that it would be impossible to resist the return of the Commons. If there had been nothing else to influence him, the humiliation of remaining a defeated spectator of the triumph of his enemies would have been too great to bear. But he was more anxious for the Queen's safety than for his own dignity. He told Heenvliet, the Agent of the Prince of Orange, that he was sure that the Commons intended to take his wife from him. He at once despatched a messenger to Holland, no doubt to beg for material help from the Prince of Orange.[2] At the same time he wrote to Pennington, commanding him to send a ship to Portsmouth to await orders, and to obey no future directions which did not emanate from himself.[3]

Charles anxious for the Queen's safety.

The next morning Charles prepared to set out. Holland and Essex, together with Lady Carlisle, begged some who were in the King's confidence to plead for delay. No one would undertake the hopeless task. Heenvliet

Jan. 10.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxii. fol. 313.

[2] Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan. $\frac{11}{21}, \frac{14}{24}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 2me sér. iii. 500, iv. 1. [3] Pennington to the King, Jan. 11, *S. P. Dom.*

was finally applied to. "Who would dare to do it?" was all the answer he could give.[1] There must have been an unaccustomed air of firmness in that irresolute face. At that moment Charles stood by his wife. He had done nothing to raise her to truer, broader views of the world in which they both lived, because he had no true and broad views of his own. He could not even carry out persistently her rash and petulant commands. But he could suffer with her tenderly and lovingly. Long afterwards, when she told how with a word of hers she had, as she believed, betrayed the secret of the design of surprising the five members, the memory of his self-restraint rose to her lips. "Never," she said, "did he treat me for a moment with less kindness than before it happened, though I had ruined him."[2]

The King prepares to leave Whitehall.

In loving affection the Royal pair set out on their long exile. Charles was never to see Whitehall again, till he entered it as a prisoner to prepare for death. Henrietta Maria was after many years to return to the scene of her early happiness, a sad widow amidst a world which knew her not. Charles's troubles had commenced already. Essex and Holland refused to follow him, and told him that his proper place was with his Parliament. They expressed their readiness to surrender their offices. This was, however, refused, and Charles started without them. When Hampton Court was reached no preparations had been made for their reception. That night the King and Queen had to sleep in one room with their three eldest children.[3]

The King and Queen set out.

The next morning London was the scene of joyous commotion. At one o'clock the members of the House, with the five heroes of the day amongst them, took boat to return to Westminster. They were surrounded by a multitude of gaily dressed boats, firing volleys as they passed along. On the north side the City trained bands marched westward with resolute purpose. In the midst of

Jan. 11. The return of Parliament.

[1] Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan. $\frac{11}{21}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 2me sér. iii. 500.

[2] Madame de Motteville, *Memoirs*, ch. ix.

[3] Berners to Hobart, Jan. 17, *Tanner MSS.* lxiii. fol. 242.

them Mandeville was seated in a carriage. They bore aloft on their pikes a printed copy of that Protestation which, at the crisis of Strafford's fate, had rallied Englishmen to the cause of the Protestant religion and the liberty of the subject.[1]

That day witnessed Pym's greatest triumph. He was now King Pym indeed. He was no longer the chief of a party, for he had the nation at his back. Both Houses of Parliament, now united, followed his bidding. Patiently and vigilantly he had stood upon the watch tower peering into the darkness to descry the fleeting and shapeless forms of anarchy and conspiracy. He had taught men to seek for the basis of law and order in Parliament rather than in the King. Yet for him, as for other men, the hour of triumph was but the hour of opportunity. Could he seize the moment as it passed, and make permanent that harmony which had so unexpectedly sprung up? Was this government by Parliament to acknowledge the limitations imposed on it by nature? Was it to be a means of imposing upon men the despotism of a majority, or was it to bow before the majesty of that true freedom which consists in the liberty of each individual man, to strive as seems best to himself after that ideal of duty which reveals itself in his soul? The Church question was still unsettled, and unhappily there was nothing in Pym to make it probable that he would solve it aright.

Pym's triumph.

[1] Bere to Pennington, Jan. 13, *S. P. Dom.* Giustinian's despatch, Jan. $\frac{14}{24}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O. Rushworth*, iv. 484. *Clarendon*, iv. 199.

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CHAPTER CIV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MILITIA.

THE King's first act on the morning of his arrival at Hampton Court was a preparation for civil war, or, as he himself would have explained it, for the maintenance of his just authority against rebellion. It is probable that in his orders to Pennington on the day before with regard to Portsmouth, he had in view something more than the Queen's embarkation, and that he was already enabled to expect that Goring would place that fortress in his hands whenever he thought it desirable. He now turned his thoughts upon a place still more important than Portsmouth. At Hull were still stored up the munitions which had been provided for the Scottish war, and the fort was also conveniently situated for the reception of those Danish troops of which he had wished to make use against the Scots, and of which he was now thinking of making use against his own subjects. He accordingly appointed the Earl of Newcastle to be Governor of Hull, and gave instructions to Captain Legg, the officer who in the summer had carried to the army the petition marked by the King's initials,[1] to hasten to the North to secure the submission of the citizens to their new governor. Special instructions were given to Nicholas to keep these orders a profound secret, and to forbear entering them in the signet office, according to the usual official course.[2] There can be no reasonable doubt that if the

1642 Jan. 11. The King's plans for the occupation of Hull.

Newcastle to be Governor of Hull.

[1] Vol. IX. p. 398.

[2] The King to Nicholas, Jan. 11. Legg to Nicholas, Jan. 14, *S. P. Dom.*

news of Legg's success had reached Charles, Digby would have started for Holland[1] and Denmark to secure assistance, and especially to hire Danish soldiers to land at Hull.[2] Charles, however, could not count on secrecy amongst his most intimate followers. The King's plans were no doubt betrayed to Pym even before they were put in execution. Orders were therefore given by Parliament to Sir John Hotham to secure Hull by means of the Yorkshire trained bands, and not to deliver it up till he was ordered to do so by 'the King's authority, signified unto him by the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament.' In a few minutes Hotham's son, who was himself a member of Parliament, was speeding down the North road, even before Legg had started on his errand.[3]

Hotham ordered by the Houses to occupy Hull.

In the face of such danger there was no lack of unanimity

[1] We learn from La Ferté's despatch of Jan. $\frac{6}{16}$ that Heenvliet was negotiating for Charles's mediation to bring about a truce between Spain and the States, and that there was to be money paid by the Prince of Orange. La Ferté warned the Parliamentary leaders of this, so that they knew that Charles was seeking aid abroad.

[2] Digby's proceedings will be related in their proper place. As, however, he did not go to Denmark, and all that has been hitherto known on the subject has been drawn from the suspicions of the Parliamentarians, it is as well to quote here the following extract: "Le Roy ne voyan espérance d'autre secours, despechoit le mylord Digbie au Roy de Dennemarque, pour en avoir de luy, et en intention d'assurer la descente des Danois le Roy donnoit ordre au Comte de Newcastel de s'en aller à Hul, port de mer vers Dennemarque:"—Forster to Chavigny, Feb. $\frac{3}{13}$ *Arch. des Aff. Étr.* xlix. fol. 27. Forster was a Catholic, and gave reports to the French Government of news from England. If, as I believe, that news reached him from persons about the Queen's Court, his intelligence would be decisive on such a point.

[3] That Hotham started first may be gathered from Giustinian's statement that the command was given to Newcastle on account of the King's knowledge of the order to Hotham, and from the fact known from a letter from the Mayor of Hull (*L. J.* iv. 526) that Hotham arrived before Legg; but, as Forster's evidence points to a substantive plan for the occupation of Hull by the King, I think it may be gathered that Hotham was sent off on account of intelligence received at Westminster of the King's intention.

between the two Houses. Both Lords and Commons concurred in accepting a guard of the City trained bands under Skippon's command, rather than a guard of the same trained bands selected by the Lord Mayor, and placed under the orders of the Earl of Lindsey, as the King now proposed. Both Lords and Commons concurred in passing rapidly through all its stages a Bill enabling Parliament to adjourn itself to any place it would; in other words, enabling it to sit at Guildhall instead of sitting at Westminster. On one point alone did the Lords show any scruples. They objected to join in addressing to the King a demand that Conyers might supersede Byron as Lieutenant of the Tower. They were ready to join in all necessary measures of defence, but they were not inclined to wrest from the King that executive authority which the Commons thought could no longer safely be left in his hands.

Unanimity of the Houses.

Already evidence had been given that Pym could count on support elsewhere than in the City. Four or five thousand gentlemen and freeholders of Buckinghamshire had ridden up with petitions to the Houses which were but the echo of the Grand Remonstrance. Hampden's constituents declared that they were ready to live and die in defence of the privileges of Parliament.[1]

The Buckinghamshire petition.

Each hour as it passed brought news of thickening dangers. On the morning of the 12th it was known that Lunsford and his Cavaliers had been gathering at Kingston, and that Digby had come over from Hampton Court to concert measures with them. As the magazine of the county of Surrey was at Kingston, the obvious interpretation of the proceeding was that the Cavaliers intended to seize the store of arms, and to gather a force which would enable the King to betake himself to Portsmouth. The Commons proposed to parry the danger by ordering the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties to call out the trained bands for the suppression of such assemblies, as contrary to law. At the same time, the Peers summoned Byron before them to give

Jan. 12. Digby and Lunsford at Kingston.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 369. *L. J.* iv. 504.

account of the recent attempt to strengthen the garrison of the Tower. Byron, however, refused to leave the fortress without an order from the King. Various rumours of plots to murder the popular lords were also afloat, and received more attention than would have been accorded them in quieter times.[1]

Byron summoned before the Lords.

The tidings of the next day did much to carry conviction to all that a struggle was imminent. Charles had removed to Windsor. He had taken time to consider the Bill allowing Parliament to adjourn itself, and had announced that, as the legality of his impeachment of the accused members had been disputed, he would now abandon it, and 'all doubts by this means being settled,' he would proceed against them 'in an unquestionable way.' The announcement that the prosecution was not to be abandoned caused the greatest irritation. Fresh news came in of Lunsford's armed men and their supposed design upon Portsmouth. What had happened at Hull no one could yet tell. Already that morning the Lords had pointed to the necessity of doing more than call out the trained bands of the counties round Kingston and Windsor. They thought that the order should 'be made general for all England.' The first proposal of a new Militia Bill had thus come from the Peers.[2] The Commons were not slow to take the hint. They drew up a declaration, to be sent to all the counties, inviting them 'to put themselves in a position of defence'—in other words, to call out the trained bands for their own security.

Jan. 13. The King at Windsor.

He will have the members tried in another way.

The counties to be invited to defend themselves.

The declaration in which this invitation was contained threw the blame of all that had occurred on 'the Papists.' There was, it was firmly believed, a vast Catholic conspiracy,

[1] *C. J.* ii. 372. *L. J.* iv. 507.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 510. *C. J.* ii. 375. Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, June $\frac{14}{24}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, sér. 2, iv. 1. This Militia Bill must not be confounded with the one which had been brought in before Christmas to appoint a general with arbitrary powers, and which was probably only intended to frighten the Lords into passing the Impressment Bill.

threatening dangers of which the outbreak in Ireland was but the premonitory symptom, and of which the attack on the members was the commencement in England. Not only had Parliament been defied and its privileges broken, but agreements had been made with foreign princes for the introduction of foreign troops into the country, and arms had been collected with a view to a rising at home. Therefore it was necessary that the country should stand on its guard. Magistrates must see that the county magazines were well furnished. Strong watches were to be placed to prevent surprise, and no soldiers were to be levied, or arms and ammunition collected, 'nor any castles, forts, or magazines delivered up without his Majesty's authority, signified by both Houses of Parliament.'

The declaration of the Commons for the defence of the country.

In the policy of this declaration the Lords concurred entirely. With the consent of the Lower House they issued a general order to the sheriffs, enjoining upon them the duty of suppressing unlawful assemblies and securing the magazines, though they prudently objected to irritate the King needlessly by the narrative of his past misconduct.[1] Afterwards, upon hearing that the King had taken the Prince out of the hands of his governor, the Marquis of Hertford, they directed Hertford to resume his charge, and requested the King not to permit the Prince to be taken out of the kingdom.[2]

Jan. 14. The Lords concur in the policy of the declaration, but object to its form.

The Prince not to leave the kingdom.

It was impossible to disconnect the removal of the Prince with the evident desire of the Court to secure Portsmouth. A gentleman from Windsor informed the Commons that a waggon laden with ammunition had gone down to Windsor, and that another waggon similarly laden had started from Windsor to Farnham. In Windsor there were about 400 horse and 40 officers. A messenger had been despatched to Portsmouth.[3] It was doubtless known in London that the King had carried with him those magnificent crown jewels on which Buckingham had once attempted to raise money in Holland, and that

The King aims at Portsmouth.

The Crown jewels with the King.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 377. [2] *L. J.* iv. 512-514. [3] *C. J.* ii. 379.

if a seaport could be secured he would not be without the means of tempting foreign mercenaries to his help.[1]

Up to that morning hopes of an accommodation may possibly still have been entertained. Pym, at least, can hardly now have expected it any more. He declared that the King must be plainly told that these armed gatherings were against the law. In the Commons it was freely said that it would be necessary to inquire who had advised him to impeach the members. A committee was appointed to place the kingdom in a posture of defence more thoroughly than by the action of the individual sheriffs The command of the militia was ultimately in the Lords-Lieutenants, and the Lords-Lieutenants had been appointed by the King. On the 15th the Committee recommended that the members for each county, and for the boroughs contained in it, should nominate a person to be appointed as its Lord-Lieutenant in the room of the King's nominee. On the same day the peers were again asked to join in requesting that Conyers might be substituted for Byron at the Tower.[2]

Pym's proposal.

Jan. 15. The Commons recommend that the Lords-Lieutenants shall be appointed by Parliament.

The Lords were not ready to wrest the whole executive authority from Charles's hands. Before long it was known that the King had asked Heenvliet to attempt to bring about an accommodation. On the 17th Heenvliet was at Windsor, and on the following morning he had an interview with Charles. Charles showed no appreciation of his real position. He chatted about Holland's ingratitude, and said that the Bishops' Exclusion Bill had been introduced in order to diminish the Royal power. Heenvliet, apparently weary of this babble, asked what

Jan. 17. Mediation of Heenvliet.

Jan. 18. His interview with Charles;

[1] The connection between the Prince's removal and the intention of going to Portsmouth is clearly put in the following: "Hora stimano alcuni che in questo tempo il Rè possa esser vicino a Posmur, havendo condotto seco la Regina, il Principe e la Principessa, et anco portato le gioie."—Rossetti to Barberini, $\frac{\text{Jan. 30}}{\text{Feb. 9}}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[2] *C. J.* ii. 379, 380. Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Jan $\frac{14}{24}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, sér. 2, iv. 1.

message he was to carry to the gentlemen at Westminster. Tell them, said the King, that you find me hard to satisfy, and then they will be anxious to secure your help. At any rate Heenvliet was to keep the negotiation on foot till he heard from the Prince of Orange, who, as Charles hardly doubted, would be ready to intervene on his behalf.

Heenvliet was then taken to the Queen. Henrietta Maria at once broke out into complaints against the Commons for their accusations against her, and protested that she had never given evil counsels to the King, and that she detested the Irish rebellion. The King, she said, would be well content if he could enjoy his revenue as he had had it before these troubles, and if his Parliament met every three years instead of remaining in perpetual session. At present, he was worse off than a Venetian Doge. He would remain at Windsor for two days. If he had not then received satisfaction, he would go to Portsmouth. She and the Princess would remain there in safe custody, whilst the King and the Prince betook themselves to Yorkshire. Heenvliet here suggested that there might be danger in such a course. No, she said, the King's name is reverenced everywhere except in London. In Scotland and Yorkshire it is especially respected. Newcastle had already occupied Hull in his name. There was a larger quantity of munitions there than in the Tower itself. As to the Tower, Byron had been ordered to blow it up rather than surrender it. The King would publish a manifesto avowing his desire for peace, and forbidding the trained bands to obey any one but himself. Parliament had no right to meddle with them. If they refused obedience, all their property would be forfeited by law. The Prince of Orange must not allow the King to perish. "If we go to Portsmouth," she ended by saying, "I hope you will soon come there with good news."[1]

and with the Queen.

Before long both Charles and his wife discovered that they had been deceiving themselves with false hopes. The Cavaliers at Kingston were dispersed by the county trained bands. Not a soul in the North or in Wales was disposed to stir in

[1] Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, *Groen van Prinsterer*, sér. 2, iv. 2.

Charles's favour. Newcastle and Legg had failed utterly in their attempt on Hull. The Mayor had refused to admit any troops into the town, whether under Newcastle or Hotham. The King had now but 200 men with him. It was therefore necessary to abate something of his high pretensions.[1] On the 20th, abandoning his design on Portsmouth, he despatched to Westminster a more conciliatory message than any which he had penned since his return from Scotland. In this he asked the Houses to place upon paper all that they judged necessary on the one hand for the maintenance of his authority and the settlement of his revenue, and on the other hand for the establishment of their own privileges, the security of 'the true religion now professed in the Church of England, and the settling of the ceremonies in such a manner as may take away all just offence.' When all this had been digested 'into one entire body,' he would show how well disposed towards Parliament he was.

Charles's hopes prove vain.

Jan. 20. He sends a conciliatory message.

A month before, such a message would doubtless have been received with rapturous applause. Even now there were some who had hitherto opposed the King who were inclined to see in it an augury of better things. No doubt it pointed to such a settlement of the Church as would have been in accordance rather with the views of Bristol than with the views of Pym. No doubt, too, the urgent question was not how the Church could be settled, but whether Charles could be trusted. Yet it was inevitable that those who wished to see the Church settled in Charles's way should be inclined to trust him, and that those who wished to see it settled in another way should be inclined to distrust him. There were certainly grounds enough for distrust. The message offered no security against an appeal to force, if force were at hand. Both Houses therefore agreed in sending for Newcastle to give an account of his conduct at Hull. The Lords, however, wished to return a simple reply of thanks to the King's message; whilst the Commons, who had the day before ordered the circulation of the Protestation throughout the kingdom for

Its reception.

The Commons demand the fortresses and the militia.

[1] Giustinian to the Doge, Jan. $\frac{21}{31}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.*

signature, as a token of the public disapprobation of the attempt on the members,[1] now asked that the fortresses and the militia might be placed in the hands of persons in whom Parliament could confide. On the 24th the Lords refused to join in this request; though the number of protests, which usually stood at 22 or 23, was on this occasion swollen to 32.

Jan. 24. The Lords refuse to join them.

The next day Pym laid before the Lords petitions from London, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex, in support of his policy. The voice of the petitioners, he said, was the voice of England. He adjured the Peers to remove the obstructions to a peaceable settlement which still existed. The Commons would be glad of their help, and would be sorry 'that the story of this present Parliament should tell posterity that in so great a danger and extremity the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the House of Peers should have no part in the honour of the preservation of it.'

Pym's appeal to the Lords.

When Pym's proposal was discussed in the House of Lords, Lennox rose to a motion for adjournment. "Let us put the question," he said hastily, "whether we shall adjourn for six months." The Peers felt that Digby's motion that Parliament was no longer free had come back to them in another form. To leave the House of Commons alone in session would be a direct admission that no constitutional remedies were any longer possible. Lennox was therefore compelled to acknowledge that he had given offence. Twenty-two lords of the Opposition protested against the mildness of the penalty. The Commons took the matter up warmly, and asked the Lords to join in petitioning the King to remove Lennox from his office at Court. The Lords refused to censure Lennox more heavily than they had already done.[2]

Jan. 26. Lennox moves for an adjournment for six months.

Irritation on both sides was the natural result of the abnormal situation. There was absolutely no Government in England. The King was projecting the restoration of his

[1] *C. J.* ii. 353.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 543. French News-Letter, Feb. $\frac{3}{13}$, *Arch. des Aff. Etr.* xlix. fol. 24.

authority by reliance on anything except the loyalty of the English nation. A Government acting in accordance with Parliament would soon have dispersed the panic fears which exaggerated even the great danger which in reality existed; and the demand that the military forces of the realm should be commanded by persons in whom Parliament could confide, was the first step to the establishment of such a Government. It is useless to say that the Commons could afford to wait. The nation, at least, could not afford to wait. Men could not trade with security when they might expect at any moment to hear that foreign soldiers had landed, or that Irish rebels had been imported to wage war in England; whilst the whole military organisation of the country was thrown out of gear, because the King wished it to be employed for other objects than for the public safety.

Difficulty of the situation.

Though reason was on the side of the Commons, it was not unnatural that the Lords should take the opposite view. Tradition and precedent were on the King's side. Many of the Peers feared the sweep of a democratic tide. The Commons, still in name the Lower House, were speaking as if they were the undoubted masters of the Lords, and were already treating their House as a mere appendage to a greater and more powerful assembly. In the wake of distasteful social and political changes loomed religious changes equally distasteful. Yet the Lords hardly knew what to do. They distrusted the Commons, but as yet they distrusted Charles as well.

Reasons for the Lords' resistance.

On the refusal of the Lords to join in asking for the fortresses and the militia, the Commons had independently presented their request to the King. Charles had returned an evasive answer, and on the 31st the House voted the evasion to be equivalent to a denial,[1] and also drew up an ordinance conferring power in each county upon persons to be afterwards named to train the inhabitants for war, to name deputy-lieutenants

Jan. 25. The Commons' petition.

Jan. 31. The militia ordinance.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 395, 405.

with the approbation of Parliament, and to appoint officers, as well as to suppress 'all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions,' according to directions from the King signified by Parliament.

Something indeed had been already done to carry into action the terms of the ordinance. The younger Hotham had made himself master of Hull in the name of the Parliament. Skippon and the City trained bands were blockading the Tower, and Byron acknowledged that it was not capable of offering a long resistance.

Hotham occupies Hull.

The Tower blockaded.

A position so strained could not last long. In the City the burden fell heavily on the poor. On the 31st a petition was presented to the Commons by the artificers of London and Westminster. It was immediately sent up to the Lords. The poor men, said Holles, who carried it up, had declared that they wanted bread. "The House of Commons said that they are not in fault, but have done what they could to take away the causes of these distempers; therefore they protest, for their own safeties, lest they should be involved, that they are not guilty of these mischiefs." [1]

Jan. 31. The Artificers' Petition.

When the Houses met the next morning an unusual sight presented itself to their eyes. Palace Yard was thronged by a crowd of women. "We had rather bring our children," they said, "and leave them at the Lords' door, than have them starve at home." The crowds of petitioners who had been appearing during the last few days at Westminster were not without effect on the House of Lords. The most persistent Royalists saw in them an organised renewal of those scenes which had preceded the death of Strafford.[2] Others may have been convinced of the gravity of the situation, and may have been disappointed at the King's letter, as containing no serious guarantees.[3] On Feb-

Feb. 1. The women in Palace Yard.

Position of the Lords.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 559.

[2] Giustinian's despatch, Feb. $\frac{4}{14}$, *Ven. Transcripts, R. O.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Feb. $\frac{4}{14}$.

[3] For the view that Charles, in his anxiety to save the Queen from the

ruary 1 the Lords voted that they would join the Commons in asking the King either to set forth distinctly his charges against the accused members, or to abandon the prosecution. Later in the day they passed a far more serious vote. They agreed to join in a petition to the King, asking him to entrust the fortresses and the militia to persons in whom Parliament could confide.[1]

They join the Commons about the accused members, and about the militia.

The Lords no doubt felt their isolation. Instead of placing himself at their head, the King had done nothing to show repentance for his past faults. All round them was a population surging with impatience. On the 4th came a long petition from the women about Popery and idolatry, and another long petition from Surrey, crying out for a speedy settlement. The next day the Lords passed the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, which they had steadfastly resisted in the autumn.[2]

Feb. 4. The women's petition.

Feb. 5. The Bishops' Exclusion Bill passes the Lords.

Once more Charles found that his hope of support from the Lords had failed him. Nor was this the whole extent of his disappointment. Hardly had he received the message which told him that both Houses were of one mind on the militia, when Heenvliet brought tidings that the Prince of Orange refused to mediate in his favour, and counselled him above all things to keep clear of war. "It is hard," said Charles, "but I will think of it,

Feb. 4. The Prince of Orange will not help Charles.

danger which he apprehended, may have passed the word to his partisans to withdraw for a time from active opposition, see a pamphlet by Dr. A. Buff, *Die Politik Karls des Ersten*, in which Clarendon's misrepresentations are admirably dissected. I rather suspect, however, that, as at the time of Strafford's trial, there was a middle party which had been voting with the Royalists. Its defection now would make resistance to the Commons hopeless.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 556, 558. Dover, in his notes (*Clarendon MSS.* 1,603) says that 'that very night, many of our Lords being absent, it was carried for to join.' This may be true, but, as another vote on the same subject was taken the next day, it is evidently not the whole truth.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 564. Heenvliet says the third reading was carried by 36 to 23, which shows the untruth of Clarendon's statement that it passed by the abstention of its opponents.

and see you again in the evening." The Queen added that she was resolved to leave the kingdom, and that she would go to Holland, to deliver over her daughter to her youthful bridegroom. "Either the King," she added, "will agree with his Parliament or not. If he does, I will soon return. If not, I had rather be in Holland than here." The agreement, she explained, must be honourable to the King. In Scotland and Yorkshire the whole population was on his side. He would try his best to come to an understanding with his Parliament. If things turned out badly he would go into the North, and she would therefore only be in his way in England.

Reflection brought more strongly before Charles the necessity of at least the appearance of concession. On the 6th he replied to the message on the militia. He wished to know what authority was to be given to the new commanders, and for how long a time it was to be exercised. When he was satisfied on these points, he was ready to entrust the forts and the militia to the persons named by Parliament, reserving to himself the right of excepting to unfit persons so named. As to the accused members he would drop all proceedings against them.

Feb. 6. The King's answer on the militia.

At last, if only Charles were in earnest, a reasonable basis of settlement was found. The next day he had a long conversation with Heenvliet.

Feb. 7.

"How am I to take away the bishops," he said, "having sworn at my coronation to maintain them in their privileges and pre-eminences? At the beginning I was told that all would go well if I would allow the execution of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; then it was, if I would grant a triennial Parliament; then it was, if I would allow the present Parliament to remain sitting as long as it wished; now it is, if I will place the ports, the Tower, and the militia in their hands; and scarcely has that request been presented, when they ask me to remove the bishops. You see how far their intentions go. Nevertheless, to content them and my people, I have answered that I will name persons whom they approve of to command, but that they must tell me for how long a time this arrangement is to last, so that

The King's vexation at the Bishops' Exclusion Bill.

I may not strip myself entirely." Later in the day Charles explained his plans more clearly. As soon as the Queen was gone, he said, he should go into Yorkshire, not with the intention of taking arms, but in order to see what the Houses would do. He did not doubt that they would be more supple then. He hoped that if they attacked him, the Prince of Orange and the States would not suffer him to perish.[1]

What could be expected from a man so unhappily constituted? He could neither frankly yield nor firmly refuse. Even if it were strictly true that he had given way to content his people, he believed himself to have been grievously wronged, and he hoped that when he spoke from the midst of the sympathising Yorkshiremen he would be able to compel Parliament to grant him better terms.

On one point, indeed, Charles of necessity yielded. On the 11th he announced that he would transfer to Conyers the Lieutenancy of the Tower now that Byron was no longer able to defend it.[2] In the meantime the Commons had drawn up a list of persons whom they recommended as Lords-Lieutenants. On the 12th this list was accepted by the Lords, to be presented to the King. The Houses agreed that the authority of the new officials should continue till Parliament determined otherwise.

Feb. 11. Conyers in charge of the Tower.

Feb. 12. Lords-Lieutenants named by Parliament.

On the 13th the King and Queen were at Canterbury on their way to Dover, the port chosen for the Queen's embarkation. The question whether the Royal assent should be given to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill had been the subject of much contestation. Culpepper had argued in vain that it would be prudent to allow it to become law. The Queen was more successful.[3] To her it was a matter of indifference whether a few heretics, calling themselves Bishops, sat in the House of Lords or not. The one thing of importance was, that her husband should retain his hold on the sword. • As soon as she had sailed, his movements

Feb. 13. The King accepts the Bishops' Exclusion Bill.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 566. Heenvliet to the Prince of Orange, Feb. $\frac{4}{14}, \frac{8}{18}$, *Groen van Prinsterer*, 2me sér., iv. 16, 17.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 577.

[3] *Clarendon's Life*, ii. 18.

would be free. When he was once in Yorkshire he would easily find his way into Hull, and at Hull he would be in a position to receive supplies from the Continent. Charles yielded to his stronger partner. Never, he fondly promised her, would he surrender his command of the militia.[1]

In this temper he addressed himself to the demands of Parliament. It is needless to inquire whether, in some abstract constitutional system formed without reference to any particular circumstances of time and place, the presence of bishops in Parliament is desirable or not. They had gained their place there when they had been the depositaries of the moral and intellectual force of the nation. In 1642 they were no more than an excrescence on political and religious life. They had made themselves the servants of the King, and apart from him they had no inherent strength by which they could stand. Few spoke in their defence, and most of those who did defended them not for their own sake, but for the sake of institutions which would fall more easily when they were gone from the political world. At his wife's bidding Charles consented to the Bill, which, by reducing them to their spiritual functions, gave them a fresh chance of regaining the goodwill and admiration of their fellow-countrymen. At the same time he passed the Bill for pressing soldiers for Ireland, with the clause forbidding him to compel men to go out of their counties without permission from the Houses. He also offered to put in execution the laws against the recusants, and bound himself to grant no pardons in future to the Catholics without consent of Parliament, on condition that the seven priests who had been condemned in December might have their sentence commuted to banishment. He would also refer to Parliament all questions relating to the Church and the Liturgy, though he required that its recommendations should be submitted to him as a whole after the subject had been thoroughly discussed. He would leave nothing undone for the relief of Ireland, and, if Parliament saw

The bishops in the House of Lords.

The Bill for pressing passed.

The King's message.

[1] See *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, published by Mrs. Everett Green.

fit, he would venture his person in the war. Finally he wished the Houses to examine into the causes of the decay of trade.[1]

No wonder that, coupled with the former offer about the militia, this message drew forth warm expressions of thanks from both Houses. If only Charles could be trusted, everything might yet go well. Unluckily, that very afternoon, after the impeachment of the Attorney-General for his conduct in relation to the accused members had been laid before the Lords, Pym brought up a packet of letters written by Digby from Middelburg, whither he had fled. One of them was addressed to the Queen, and in such a crisis it was resolved to break the seal. The contents were ominous of danger. "The humblest and most faithful servant you have in the world," wrote Digby, "is here at Middelburg, where I shall remain in the privatest way I can, till I receive instruction how to serve the King and your Majesty in these parts, if the King betake himself to a safe place where he may avow and protect his servants from rage and violence; but if, after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence than by all my industry."[2]

Feb. 14. Thanks from the Houses.

Impeachment of the Attorney-General.

Digby's intercepted letter.

Digby's letter received an appropriate comment by the reading of the warrant by which the King had empowered Newcastle to take military possession of Hull.[3] How was it possible to doubt that strong influence was being brought to bear upon the King to induce him to set Parliament at defiance? Even the most sanguine must have suspected that till the militia was actually in safe hands there could be no security for the State. On the 15th the arrangements previously made for the command of the militia were embodied in an ordinance, and that ordinance was sent in the name of both Houses to the King. On the 22nd Digby was impeached of high treason.[4]

The King's warrant to Newcastle.

Feb. 15. The militia ordinance.

Feb. 22. Digby impeached.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 580.
[2] *L. J.* iv. 582. *Rushworth*, iv. 554.
[3] *L. J.* iv. 585.
[4] *L. J.* iv. 587, 602.

To the messengers who brought him the militia ordinance Charles refused to give an immediate answer. He had plainly made up his mind to say nothing till the Queen was in safety.

Feb. 23. The Queen sets sail.

On the 23rd she was under sail, carrying with her her daughter and the Crown jewels, full of hope and courage, and half believing that she had inspired her husband with something of her own resolution. After a tender farewell, Charles galloped along the cliffs in the direction in which the vessel was sailing, keeping his eyes fixed upon it to the last.[1]

On the 26th the King was at Greenwich. He sent for the Prince of Wales, and, in spite of the remonstrances of Parliament, he kept the lad with him. He was now buoyed up with a fresh hope as unsubstantial as were the many others which had melted away in his hands. The militia ordinance had given rise to some dissatisfaction in the City as overriding the municipal authority of the Lord Mayor,[2] and there had been a movement amongst the citizens to resist it, of which George Benyon, a wealthy merchant, was the leading spirit. Charles had therefore drawn up a sharp answer to the message with which the Houses accompanied

Feb. 26. Charles at Greenwich.

[1] Madame de Motteville's *Mémoires*, ch. ix. Giustinian to the Doge, March $\frac{4}{14}$, *Ven. Transcripts*, *R. O.* The Queen's mingled feelings may be gathered from the following extract from a letter written after her arrival at the Hague: "Il faloit que le Roy et moy fisions toute nos affaires tout seuls, qui ne sont pas petites; et à la fin la violance du Parlement a estté sy grande contre moy que pour esttre en seureté de ma vie, il m'a falu en aler; car après qu'ils ont jeté plusieurs imputations contre moy et m'accuser de avoir voulu changer le gouvernement de l'Estat et de la religion et que c'estoit moy qui encouragoit les Irlandois à une rebellion, ils ont dit publiquement que une Royne n'estoit que subjecte et que elle pouvoit estre puniee comme une autre. Ce n'est pas toutefois la peur de la mort qui m'aye fait en aler, mais d'une prisone, en me separant du Roy monsr. que j'avoue m'ut estté plus insuportable que la mort, car cela orait ruiné toute nos affaires, et, estant en liberté, j'espère que je seray encore en estat de le servir"—The Queen to the Duchess of Savoy, $\frac{\text{March } 25}{\text{April } 4}$, *Lettres de Henriette-Marie* ——, *à sa sœur*, publiées par Hermann Ferrero.

[2] Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Feb. } 25}{\text{March } 7}$, *Ven. Transcripts*, *R. O.*

their ordinance, though he allowed himself to be persuaded by Hyde to hold it back for further consideration. On the 27th he had a long interview with Hyde. Hyde, it was arranged, was to remain at Westminster, to watch the proceedings of Parliament, and to send notice to the King of all that it was desirable for him to know. He was also to accompany every message which left the Houses for the King with a secret despatch containing the answer which he judged most fitting to be given. Charles was to copy the proposed answer with his own hand, and to address it to Parliament as if it were his own.[1]

Feb. 27. He accepts Hyde as his secret counsellor.

Charles's acceptance of Hyde as his unofficial adviser marks a new departure in the constitutional system of the English monarchy. Hyde's great achievement was to throw over the doctrine which Strafford had inherited from the Tudors, which taught that there was a prerogative above the law, capable of developing out of itself special and transcendent powers to meet each emergency as it arose, whether Parliament approved or not. The King, according to Hyde, was to work in combination with his Parliament; but he was not to allow the House of Commons to force its will upon the House of Lords, still less was he to allow both Houses combined to compel him to give the Royal assent to Bills of which his conscience disapproved. That such a conception of the constitution could under any circumstances have been permanently adopted is absolutely impossible. It did not even attempt to solve the question of sovereignty, which Strafford had been prepared to solve in one way, and which Pym was now prepared to solve in another. It was the idea of an essentially mediocre statesman. It was based on negations, and provided so elaborately that nothing obnoxious should be done, that there was no room left for doing anything at all. Strafford and Pym were men of real, if limited, insight. Hyde removed no difficulties; he awoke no enthusiasm; he welded together no divergent elements.

Hyde's constitutional views.

Their permanent weakness,

Yet, with all this, Hyde had at least a marvellous temporary

[1] *Clarendon's Life*, ii. 24.

success. He gave the King a party, and that party, though defeated in the field and doomed to many years of proscription, rose again to embrace almost the whole nation for a time. The explanation of this success is not hard to find. Hyde's policy of negation was welcome to those who were indisposed to change, and in 1642 nearly half the nation, and in 1660 nearly the whole of the nation, was indisposed to change. All who feared the intolerant rule of Puritanism or the interference of shopkeepers and artisans in the affairs of government welcomed a theory which acknowledged the right of the King to stop a legislation which was not very likely to take the course of which they approved. Other causes, no doubt, combined with this pure conservatism. Hyde had on his side the traditional reverence for the King, combined with the more honourable reverence for the law, and it was tempting to dispense with the toilsome labour of investigating what the law ought to be in favour of the far easier task of accepting whatever existed as the perpetual rule of life.

and temporary success.

Undoubtedly Hyde's connection with Charles brought the Civil War nearer than it was before. He could gain for him a party. He could not gain for him a nation. If he could not quite separate him from his old belief in his prerogative as something personally inherent in himself, or from those insane appeals to forces which never proved to be really on his side, he could at least render such attempts more infrequent, and could cover them, when they occurred, with the decent veil of constitutional argument. Men seemed to be listening to the voice of the law itself when they were only carried away by the sonorous eloquence of a pleader.

The Civil War brought nearer.

Even now, indeed, Charles had something very different in view from the formation of a constitutional party. He had promised the Queen that he would listen to no terms of accommodation which did not imply the submission of the Parliamentary leaders. With the Prince in his hands, he would go to the North and throw himself upon the known loyalty of his people there. Hull was to be seized, or, if the attempt failed, Newcastle or Berwick should be occupied

Charles's plans.

to keep open his communications with the Continent. Charles had still hope of assistance from Scotland. With these projects in hand, the negotiation with Parliament became but a secondary object. "I will not differ from you," he said to Hyde's proposal that his reply should take a less offensive form, "for now I have gotten Charles, I care not what answer I send them."[1]

That answer stated that, though Charles was ready to place the militia in the hands of the persons nominated, they must receive their commissions from himself, and those commissions must determine whenever he saw fit.[2] As this arrangement gave no security against himself, the Houses voted that the answer was equivalent to a denial of their request. Charles's movements were even a greater reason for alarm than his words. Parliament begged him to remain in the neighbourhood of Westminster. If he did not, it must needs be a cause of great danger and distraction.[3] "For my residence near you," he replied, "I wish it might be so safe and honourable that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall; ask yourselves whether I have not."[4] It did not follow that, because he was uneasy at Westminster, it was necessary for him to go to York. Yet, on the day after the reply was given, he started on his ill-starred journey for the North.

Feb. 28. The King's answer voted a denial.

The Houses beg him to continue near Westminster.

March 2. Charles's reply.

The Commons felt that there was but one course to pursue. They voted that the kingdom should be 'put in a posture of defence by authority of both Houses,' and this resolution was at once accepted by the Lords.[5] By the 5th an ordinance had passed formally appointing the new Parliamentary Lords-Lieutenants, and conveying to them authority to command the militia 'for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions.'[6] In sheer self defence, as they deemed it, the Houses had seized upon the sword

The kingdom to be put in a posture of defence.

March 5.

[1] *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 52–65; Clarendon, *Life*, ii. 27.
[2] *An Exact Collection*, 90. [3] *Ibid.* 92.
[4] The King's Answer, March 2, *L. J.* iv. 641.
[5] *C. J.* ii 464. *L. J.* iv. 622. [6] *L. J.* iv. 625, 628.

On the 9th the King was at Newmarket. A Parliamentary deputation waited on him to present a declaration of their fears and jealousies, pointing out the many surprises to which they had been subjected from the first Army plot to the attempt on the members. Charles could not understand that they could have any reasonable suspicions at all. "That's false!" "That's a lie!" were the expressions which burst from him as the declaration was being read. The next day he returned his answer. "What would you have?" he cried. "Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass one Bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation." In vain Pembroke begged Charles to come nearer his Parliament, and to say clearly what he wanted. "I would whip a boy in Westminster School," replied the King, "that could not tell that by my answer." Might not he, Pembroke suggested, grant the militia for a time? "By God!" was the fierce answer, "not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this, was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."

March 9. Declaration of fears and jealousies.

The King's answer.

He absolutely refuses the militia.

No understanding was any longer possible. The evident sincerity of both parties kept them asunder. Charles believed at the bottom of his heart that Parliament was plotting to strip him of his lawful authority in order to destroy the Church. The Houses believed in all honesty that Charles was plotting to set up an arbitrary power which, whether he intended it or not, would redound to the advantage of the Pope.[1]

No understanding possible.

One more word Charles had yet to speak. "The business of Ireland," he said, "will never be done in the way that you are in. Four hundred will never do that work. It must be put into the hands of one. If

Charles's reference to Ireland.

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 532.

I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work; and, though I beggar myself, I can find money for that." [1]

Troops sent to Ireland.

Ireland, in fact, had not been entirely neglected. Before the end of December Sir Simon Harcourt had arrived in Dublin with 1,500 men. In February Sir Richard Grenville brought 400 horse, and George Monk, one day to be more famous than either, landed with 1,500 foot. Parliament would gladly have sent more men if money could have been found to pay them. On January 24 the City had announced that it would be impossible to raise a loan in the unsettled condition of affairs. On February 11 some London citizens presented themselves before the House of Commons. There were, they said, 10,000,000 acres in Ireland,—about one-third of the acreage of the kingdom,—liable to confiscation. There would be no difficulty in raising 1,000,000*l.*, if a quarter of these lands, or 2,500,000 acres were assigned to subscribers. This monstrous scheme of confiscation was received without a word of objection. Lords and Commons, Episcopalians and Puritans, were of one mind here. The scheme for the opening of a public subscription passed through both Houses in a week. The King's consent was asked, and on the 24th his answer was read in the House.[2] If he had any better policy than that of Parliament it was time to speak out. He did nothing of the kind. Hinting a disapprobation which he durst not express, he replied that he consented 'to every proposition now made to him, without taking time to examine whether this course may not retard the reducing of that kingdom by exasperating the rebels, and rendering them desperate of being received into grace if they shall return to their obedience.' What excuse can be made for the man who had no time to spare in such a case as this?

Jan. 24. Difficulty in finding money.

Feb. 11. The undertakers.

Feb. 24. The scheme accepted by the King.

The Lords Justices hoped to have everything their own way now. There would be one more sweeping confiscation—

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 532.

[2] *C. J.* ii. 420, 425. *L. J.* iv. 593, 607. Moore's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* cccclxxx. fol. 131.

lands and wealth for Englishmen, the sharp sword or the pangs of hunger for the Irish. The rebels in the neighbourhood of Dublin were attacked and driven back, houses and cottages were burnt, and the inhabitants cut down or hanged without mercy. There was no glory to be gained in such a war. The Irish were badly armed, or not armed at all. 'Poor naked rogues,' was the phrase usually applied to them, but they swarmed around in numbers so great as to make the struggle appear endless. They never stood long before a charge of disciplined troops except behind walls. Their very resistance was counted a crime. Sir Simon Harcourt was slain in storming a fortified post near Dublin. After entering through a breach, his soldiers, as one of their number told in his diary, 'slew man, woman, and child to the number of 300 and more.'[1]

Fighting in Ireland. Feb. 11.

March 25.

Very much the same miserable story came from Drogheda. Tichborne and his little garrison within were hard put to it to ward off starvation. But the Irish, though assisted by their friends inside, failed in every attempt to take the town. Whenever it suited Tichborne to make a sally, he drove the besiegers like sheep before him, killing those whom he could reach. Here, too, their numbers alone made them formidable. Early in March, Ormond was sent with a small force to relieve the place. The terror of his coming had been sufficient, and before he arrived Drogheda was free.

The siege of Drogheda.

It had been with no goodwill that the Lords Justices had sent forth Ormond on this mission. The orders which they had given him commanded him to burn and destroy all places in which rebels had been harboured,[2] and to 'kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.'[3] Lest he should distinguish himself too much, he was ordered not to pass the Boyne to follow up the enemy. His suggestion that the houses of such of the lords or gentlemen of the pale as came to him to surrender

Feb. 23. Orders to Ormond. March.

[1] Diary, *Clarendon MSS.* 1584.

[2] Carte's narrative is supported by the large collection of letters in the *Carte MSS.*

[3] Lords Justices to Ormond, Feb. 23, *Carte's Letters*, lx.

might be spared, was contemptuously set aside.[1] The fierce spirit of revenge which had been kindled by pity for the victims of Irish cruelty was degraded by the Lords Justices into the instrument of avarice. Every Irishman knew that for him the struggle was one for life or death, for land as well as for religion. "It is not my cause alone," wrote Lord Mountgarret to Ormond, "it is the cause of the whole kingdom, and it hath been a principal observation of the best historians that a whole nation, how contemptible soever, should not be so incensed by any prince or State how powerful soever, as to be driven to take desperate courses."[2]

Lord Mountgarret's remonstrance.

Into that red mist of blood which was settling down upon Ireland it is happily not the duty of the historian of England to enter in full detail. The unarmed, untrained Irish peasants fell before the stronger disciplined bands of England as grass before the mower. Nobler spirit never was than that of Edmund Verney, a younger son of Charles's Knight Marshal. Yet even his temper was lowered by the element in which he worked. "There is little news," he wrote from the camp in which he served; "the enemy runs from us wheresoever we meet them, but if we chance to overtake them we give no quarter, but put all to the sword." To butcher grown men only was fast becoming a mark of virtue. When Trim was taken, in June, writes the same officer, "we put some fourscore men to the sword, but, like valiant knights errant, gave quarter and liberty to all the women."[3] When the Scots landed at last, their cruelty was even worse. A party of them near Charlemont 'took many cows, killed about forty men, and many women and children, in all some say five, some seven hundred.' The poor wretches had not even been guilty of the crime of defending themselves. They had no powder with them. All that could be said of them was this: "They did endeavour to drive

The misery of Ireland.

May 30.

June 22.

July.

[1] Ormond to the Lords Justices, March 9. The Lords Justices to Ormond, March 11. Temple to Ormond, March 10, *Carte's Letters*, xiii., lxiv., lxv.

[2] Mountgarret to Ormond, March 25, *Carte MSS.* iii. fol. 12.

[3] E. Verney to Sir R. Verney, May 30, June 22, *Verney MSS.*

away their cows."[1] The Irish in turn were goaded into fury. Ever since the relief of Drogheda there had been fresh scenes of murder. Englishmen and Irishmen were to one another but noxious beasts of prey to be slaughtered without mercy. All feeling of a common humanity had been lost between them. The imaginative power which calls up before the mind the real life of an enemy was altogether lacking, and for want of it the people perished.

For the misery of Ireland no party in England could avoid responsibility. On March 19 Charles gave the Royal assent to that monstrous Bill which was to hand over to English adventurers two millions and a half of acres of Irish soil. He had ceased to think of Ireland except so far as it might assist him in his struggle with the English Parliament. That struggle was already taking a sharper form. On the 16th the Commons answered the King's declaration that the ordinances of the House were not to be obeyed without his consent, by a resolution 'that when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of Parliament.' Such a claim to sovereignty was necessarily followed by many acts which were violently unconstitutional, in the sense that they would have been out of place in a state of things in which the constitution was in working order. Even before the words had been spoken, Parliament had claimed the right of directing the armed forces by sea as well as by land. Northumberland was constitutionally timid, and was unwilling to take an active part in the strife. He was accordingly asked to appoint Warwick to command the fleet, which would soon be ready to put to sea.[2]

March 19. The Adventurers' Bill receives the Royal assent.

March 16 The Commons claim supreme power for Parliament.

March 15. Parliament claims the command at sea.

The Commons had little doubt that Charles was prepared

[1] Conway to Ormond, July 18, *Carte MSS.* iii. fol. 325.
[2] *L. J.* iv. 645.

to use force against them. A letter directed to Pym was picked up in Palace Yard. The writer stated 'that he had heard the King say that he had the nobility, the gentry, and divers honest men on his side; that the Parliament had irritated the military men and denied them employment in Ireland, and so prepared swords for their own throats; that he did not doubt, if Hull proved right, but that an army of 16,000 men, commanded by the said military men or officers, would keep him in safety.' Some one attached to Charles's person had been heard to say, "What if you see Hull yield to the King, and young Hotham be hanged up?"[1] Four days later came news of a statement made at Rotterdam by a mariner named Henley, that he had been asked by a servant of Lord Digby to take charge of a ship at Elsinore, which was one of a fleet intended to bring thirty or forty thousand Danish soldiers to Hull. An anonymous letter from Newmarket, directed to Pym, added that French troops were to be sent to Ireland, that the English navy was expected to take part against Parliament, and that all the resolutions of the Commons were betrayed to the King by some of the members of the House.[2] No wonder that the Houses directed that no troops should be admitted into Hull without authority from Parliament.[3]

Report of the King's intentions.

March 19. Danger from foreign forces.

March 22.

Whether these rumours were exaggerated or not, there can be no doubt that they were not mere inventions. The Queen was not looking only to the money which she hoped to raise by pledging her own and the Crown jewels. She did hope to obtain aid from the King of Denmark. She did think it possible to bring about by her mediation a truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic—a truce which would enable Frederick Henry, gained over by the splendid offer of a marriage between his daughter and the Prince of Wales, to intervene effectually on her husband's behalf. Behind this were visions still more vague of help from France or Spain, from the Emperor or even from Bavaria.[4]

The Queen's designs.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 33.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 655. [3] *Ibid.* iv. 656, 659, 662.

[4] The evidence for this is scattered over Rossetti's letters. See, too, the

For some time the impatient Queen had been urging her husband to gain possession of the seaport on which her hopes were fixed. "When you come to Hull," she wrote, "if you find the country well affected, Hull must absolutely be had. If you cannot, you must go to Newcastle, and if you find that is not safe, go to Berwick, for it is necessary to have a seaport."[1] Charles did not find it easy to seize Hull, especially after the disclosure of the scheme for introducing Danish troops into England. On the 19th he rode into York,[2] and did his best to curry favour with his subjects by ordering the execution of the laws against the Catholics. The feeling in Yorkshire was not as hostile to him as that in London. In York itself, the common people, dissatisfied with the suppression of the Council of the North, placed themselves on his side. A proposal to petition the King to return to his Parliament found but little support, and those who advocated it were compared to the Gadarenes who besought Christ to depart from their coasts. But there was little enthusiasm for the King, and no inclination to plunge into civil war. The address sent up to him suggested, under respectful forms, that it would be well for him to come to an understanding with Parliament. Charles in his answer expressed him-

March 7. The Queen urges the seizure of Hull.

March 19. Charles at York.

April 5.

quotation from Barberini at p. 55, note 2. At a later time, after Charles had abandoned these projects, Rossetti writes that having made particular inquiry, he had discovered 'che il pensiero del Rè d'Inghilterra è di restituirsi in autorità et abassare anzi distruggere, se potrà, il partito Parlamentario, ma per ciò effettuare non vede luogo di poter prevalersi di mezzi forestieri.' This was on the ground that France was engaged in a war of its own, that Spain was weak, and so forth. Of the Prince of Orange 'se bene il Padre Filippo dice che esso Principe non habbia danari, si crede pero sia per somministrarne segretamente per non crescere la gelosia agli Stati causata dal matrimonio del figliuolo. Circa à Bavari si credono meri discorsi. In Danimarca si potrebbe havere maggior speranza di gente se bene sino adesso non si scopre veramente chè vi sia passata trattatione.' —Rossetti to Barberini, July $\frac{3}{13}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

[1] The Queen to the King, March $\frac{7}{17}$, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 52.

[2] *Iter Carolinum* in Gutch, *Coll. Curiosa*, ii. 427.

self ready to do so, if only Parliament would acknowledge its errors.[1]

If Charles thought it expedient to abandon for a time his projects upon Hull, it was with no thought of acknowledging the authority of the Parliament at Westminster. He wished to show that the centre of the State was to be found wherever his person was. On March 23 he summoned Essex and Holland, with two other lords, to attend him at York, on the pretext that he wished to keep state at Easter and at the Feast of St. George. The House of Lords at once ordered its members to remain in attendance on their Parliamentary duties.[2]

March 23. Essex and Holland sent for.

March 28.

Charles's efforts to shake the resolution of the Houses had hitherto been singularly ineffectual. Intrigue and argument in turn had been employed in vain. The ramparts of Hull were still manned by Hotham's trained bands. Hyde's lengthy state papers were answered by others as lengthy, and apparently more convincing than his own. No man was prepared to draw sword merely to give the King the mastery over his Parliament; and if Parliament had really represented the nation in 1642 as it had represented it in 1640, Charles would have been powerless. For some time, however, there had been signs that it was no longer so, and those signs had lately been increasing rapidly.

Charles's apparent helplessness.

Most valuable as an indication of the distracted condition of the country was the Kentish petition, drawn up on March 25 by the grand jury at the assizes held at Maidstone. It is true that, as afterwards appeared, the grand jury had been selected not in the usual way by the sheriff, but under the direction of Justice Mallett, who presided over the court; and that of the nineteen gentlemen who composed it, a bare majority of ten supported the petition. But the importance of the petition lies not in its official character, but in the language in which it was couched. It began by thanking Parliament for the excellent laws which 'by His

March 25. The Kentish petition.

[1] Stockdale to Lord Fairfax, March 25, April 1. *Fairfax Correspon.* ii. 389. Yorkshire Petition, April 5. *L. J.* iv. 710.

[2] *L. J.* iv. 675.

Majesty's grace and goodness' had been obtained, and by asking for the full execution of the laws against the Catholics. It then proceeded to request 'that the solemn liturgy of the Church' might be freed 'from interruptions, scorns, profanations, threats, and force of such men who daily do deprave it, and neglect the use of it in divers churches, in despite of the laws established; that episcopal government might be preserved, and that all differences concerning religion might be submitted to a synod chosen by the clergy, and means taken to provide against the scandal of schismatical and seditious sermons and pamphlets, and some severe law made against laymen for daring to arrogate to themselves and to exercise the holy function of the ministry—to the advancing of heresy, schism, profaneness, libertinism, anabaptism, atheism.' Coercive jurisdiction must be restored for the repression of moral and ecclesiastical offences. Ireland must be relieved. The militia must be settled by law with His Majesty's consent, and no order of either House, not grounded on existing law, was to be enforced till the Royal assent had converted it into a statute.

Spirit of the petition.

The Kentish petition may fairly be accepted as embodying the spirit which was soon to animate the King's supporters in the Civil War. Their newly awakened zeal for the prerogative had been quickened by the belief that it would be used to crush the disturbers of ecclesiastical peace. They protested against the assault made upon the Church which had been inspired by the broad and tolerant spirit of Hooker. That Church, they felt instinctively, deserved better things than to be torn asunder to gratify the ranting outcries of the conventicle. Unhappily they could see nothing in Puritanism but its weakest and lowest side. Still more unhappily they scouted the very idea of toleration for the sects.

Milton's argument on ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"The prelates," as Milton had written a few weeks before, "as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth, if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall all be Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such are now

Brownists."[1] Milton refused to be led astray by that dread of the sects which was sweeping away the bulk of the English gentry to the King. His inference was precisely the opposite from that which was drawn by the Kentish petitioners. "Jurisdictive power in the Church," he boldly said, "there ought to be none at all. . . . For when the Church without temporal support is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her; but when she thinks to credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win herself respect and dread by strutting in the false vizard of worldly authority, it is evident that God is not there, but that her apostolic virtue is departed from her, and hath left her key-cold; which she perceiving, as in a decayed nature, seeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help and external flourishes to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extreme parts, or to hatch a counterfeit heat of jurisdiction."[2]

It would have been well if the practical men in the House of Commons had bestowed some attention on the strange utterances of this idealist. Milton's time, however, was not yet come. Even Cromwell, who was one day to become the exponent of these thoughts in the field and in council, would now have deemed them, if they reached his ears at all, too unpractical to be worthy of attention. The Kentish petitioners were to be put down, not answered. Four of their number—Sir Edward Dering and the honest large-minded antiquary Sir Roger Twysden amongst them—were sent for to be examined as offenders. Judge Mallett, who had presided at the assizes, and Bristol, who was charged with having in his hands a copy of the petition without giving information to Parliament, were committed to the Tower; whilst selected extracts from the petition itself were voted to be seditious.

It finds no response.

March 28. Harsh treatment of the petitioners.

The House, in fact, had a plan of its own for the settlement of the Church. Questions at issue were to be determined

[1] *The Reason of Church Government against Prelaty*, i. 6.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 3.

not, as the petitioners proposed, by an assembly of divines chosen by the clergy, many of whom had been instituted under Laudian influence, but by an assembly of divines chosen by Parliament. A Bill condemning the late innovations had already passed the Commons and had been read twice by the Lords.[1] Two absolutely contradictory conceptions of Church worship were face to face. Neither side would give way. Neither side thought it possible to conciliate the other. If any one moment can be selected as that in which the Civil War became inevitable, it is that of the vote of March 28, by which the Kentish petitioners were treated as criminals. From that moment the indignation of hundreds of high-spirited gentlemen came rapidly to a head, and it would not be long before they placed their swords at the services of a king who shared in their prejudices and their resolve.[2]

The rival schemes for the settlement of the Church.

The Civil War now inevitable.

It has often been said with truth, that the miseries which France underwent at the close of the last century were in the main owing to the persistency with which Frenchmen followed ideals, to the disregard of the historical conditions of their time. English politicians and English writers have never been weary of repeating that our Revolution was conducted after a very different fashion. It has been our glory that our liberties were inherited from our ancestors of old, and that the men of the 17th century claimed no more than a confirmation of the rights which had been won at Runnymede and Lewes, and which were in some sort brought by our remoter progenitors from beyond the sea. Yet this advantage, like every other, has brought with it its attendant disadvantage. In the crisis of the 17th century it produced in both parties a shortsighted conservatism which was fatal to any peaceable solution of the

Its cause in the conservatism of Englishmen.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 502, 507. *L. J.* iv. 678.

[2] Three days later Salvetti wrote: 'Io credo che se Sua Maestà havrà un poco di pazienza sia per rimettersi, siando impossibile che il Parlamento non si rompa in ultimo fra di loro; oltre che i Gentilhuomini siando stracchi del suo rigido procedere cominciano ad aderire a Sua Maestà.'—Salvetti's *News-Letter*, April $\frac{1}{11}$.

problem before the nation. Men had grown so familiar with inquiries into what had been, that they did not sufficiently trouble themselves to ask what ought to be. They consulted antiquity when they should have been providing for the future. They did not see that they had embarked on an unknown sea, where their old charts would avail them little.

CHAPTER CV.

THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

If both parties were equally impervious to new ideas on the supreme question of toleration, it was of little consequence that the existing constitutional formalities were better observed by the party which was about to support the King than by the party which continued to oppose him. Pym and his friends had been driven by the course of events to uphold the doctrine that Parliament and not the King was supreme in England How could they hope to make it good unless the votes of Parliament embodied the national will? Yet it was now perfectly evident that this was no longer the case. Killigrew's suggestion that a deputation of members should be sent into each county to inquire into the opinion of the constituencies, on the ground that 'it was not the exacting of a law that made it in force, but the willing obedience to it,' was no doubt open to grave objections, but it touched the weak point of Pym's policy to the quick.[1] It was Pym's part to assume that he had all England at his back. On March 29 directions were sent to Hotham to reinforce the garrison of Hull, and on April 2 the Commons voted that the munitions at Hull should be brought to London, though the vote was afterwards changed, at the instance of the Lords, to a request to the King to consent to their removal. On the other hand, a company of horsemen rode out of London on the 3rd

Parliament no longer represents the nation.

April 1. Killigrew's suggestion.

March 29. Hull to be secured.

April 2.

[1] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 58 b.

to join the King at York, and it was known that the Gentlemen Pensioners had obeyed a summons from Charles to attend his person in the North.

April 3. Help for the King.

On April 4 the Commons appointed a committee to prepare a declaration of their ecclesiastical policy; and on the same day the two Houses, finding that Charles had forbidden the appointment of Warwick to command the fleet, directed Northumberland to instal their nominee as Vice-Admiral in defiance of the King. The two resolutions had a closer connection than appears at first sight. The ecclesiastical policy of the Commons rendered necessary their preparations for war.[1]

Measures taken by Parliament.

The Lords had already agreed that the militia ordinance should be put in force even without the King's consent. On the 8th they sentenced Benyon to fine and imprisonment for his attempt to stir up resistance to the militia ordinance under cover of the privileges of the City.[2] The Lords in truth were no more than a shadow of their former selves. Many of the Royalist peers had given up the struggle and had ceased to attend in their places. In the division taken on Benyon's sentence there were but nineteen votes in the majority. The minority was composed of fourteen only.[3]

April 8. Benyon sentenced.

The Royalist peers cease to attend.

Charles had, in the meanwhile, been listening alternately to his hopes and his fears. As yet there had been little to encourage him in the North. The bulk of the gentry showed little inclination to support him, and petitioned him to come to terms with Parliament. Charles, in his reply, assured them that all would be well if only Parliament would consider the message in which he had asked that its demands on ecclesiastical matters should be presented to him as a whole, and would agree to settle the militia by Bill instead of by ordinance.[4]

April 5. The Yorkshire petition.

April 7. The King's reply.

It would have been better for Charles if he could have been

[1] *C. J.* ii. 510. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 62 b.
[2] See page 168. [3] *L. J.* iv. 682–705. [4] *Rushworth*, iv. 613.

content to act persistently on these lines. The outburst of feeling which had been to some extent revealed in the Kentish petition, had drawn from the Houses an announcement of the moderation of their desires and intentions with regard to the Church. Their only wish, they said, was for 'a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the Church,' and 'to take away nothing in the one or the other but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome, and, for the better effecting thereof, speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines.'[1]

April 8. The declaration of the Houses on Church reform.

The course which prudence clearly dictated to Charles was to accept the hand thus held out to him, to endeavour to reduce to a minimum the changes which would be demanded, and to come to some compromise on the question of the militia. Yet, in order to make such an attempt possible, it was absolutely necessary that he should be able to inspire confidence in his sincerity, and should induce his subjects to believe that he was no longer the Charles who had dabbled in army plots the year before. Yet as if to render all hope of conciliation impossible, on the very day on which the resolution on the Church was accepted by the Lords a message was speeding southwards which revived all the old suspicions.

In this message Charles announced his resolution to go to Ireland to suppress the rebellion. For this purpose he intended to raise a guard of 2,000 foot and 200 horse and to arm them from the magazine at Hull. To remove all misunderstanding he had ordered a Bill to be prepared for settling the militia, a Bill which, as it afterwards appeared, proposed that the command should be placed in the hands of the persons named in the Parliamentary ordinance, to be exercised for one year under the directions of the King signified by both Houses of Parliament, as long as he was in England, and under the directions of Parliament alone when he was beyond the sea.[2]

Charles declares that he will go to Ireland.

[1] *L. J.* iv. 706.

[2] *Ibid.* 709. The Bill has not been preserved, but its contents may be discovered from the subsequent discussions.

We may well believe that Hyde had no part in this unlucky message.[1] No one who read it could doubt that Charles, having been disappointed of the support which he had expected in the North, designed either to attach himself to the army which he intended to lead against the Irish insurgents, or even to avail himself in some way of those very insurgents whom he was professing to assail. In either case the relinquishment of the command of the militia for a single year would only tide over the time till he was ready to return from Ireland at the head of a body of devoted and victorious troops.

His probable intentions.

That this strange scheme of a journey to Ireland had been concerted with the Queen there can be little doubt.[2] In the spring of 1642, as much as in the spring of 1641, she was the centre of a wide-reaching plot for securing the co-operation in her favour of irreconcilably antagonistic forces. Her offer of the Prince of Wales to Frederick Henry as a son-in-law had made its expected impression, and the Prince of Orange had readily taken up her suggestion that Dutch ambassadors should be sent to England nominally to offer the mediation of the States between the King and Parliament, but in reality to pave the way for more direct assistance to be given, if it should prove necessary, to the Royal cause. It was true that the commercial aristocracy of the Province of Holland set itself strongly against this plan for entangling

The Queen hopes for help from the Dutch;

[1] Here is the opinion of a strong Royalist on it: "You may easily imagine how unsatisfied I am with the resolution His Majesty hath taken concerning Ireland, till I understand from you how it agrees with the sense you have of what is fit for him to do at this time . . . The King is resolved to take the Prince with him."—Grandison to Hyde, April 12, *Clarendon MSS.* 1588.

[2] "I will reply to your letter, where you say that if you can go to Ireland, and that the road by England is not safe, that you will go to Ireland by Scotland, which is a road that I apprehend extremely; for the troops who are going are entirely devoted to the Parliament, and they will hold you as a prisoner, if the Parliament please; thus you cannot join the army of the Catholics, nor approach Dublin by that road."—The Queen to the King, $\frac{\text{April } 25}{\text{May } 5}$, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 66. On the suspicions of Parliament, see Giustinian to the Doge, April $\frac{15, \text{ April } 22}{25, \text{ May } 2}$, *Venice Transcripts R. O.*

them in strife with the English Parliament, and that even the lower ranks of the population, hitherto devoted to the House of Orange, showed signs of breaking away from an allegiance which called on them to applaud the sacrifice of the interests of the republic to a dynastic alliance with a Catholic queen.[1] At the beginning of April, however, the project was not yet given up by Charles and the Queen, and the same might be said of that other project for obtaining aid from Denmark. Ever since the King had left London a succession of communications had been passing betwixt him and his uncle; and though the idea of sending Digby to Copenhagen was abandoned, from fear of rousing the suspicions of Parliament, a communication was on April 11 addressed by the Queen to Christian IV., which could hardly have referred to anything else than the succour which she expected from him.[2]

April 11. and from Denmark.

If any one of these schemes was to come to anything, it

[1] Zon to the Doge, March $\frac{7, 14, 21}{17, 24, 31}$, *Venice MSS. Olanda.*

[2] Dr. Fridericia, whose thorough knowledge of the archives of his country led me to consult him on this point, has been good enough to write to me from Copenhagen as follows: "In our *Geheimearchiv* exists a notice about a conversation between Henrietta Maria and the Danish resident, Tanke, at the Hague, dated *Hagæ Comitis*, April $\frac{11}{21}$, 1642. The Queen says that she has received a letter from King Charles to be sent to the King of Denmark, *per nobilem aliquem ex Hollandia*, but fearing that such a mission might increase the suspicion of the Parliament, she has preferred to give the letter to the resident, *quum sit de re tantum privata*. More is not noted down, and in the relations of the resident to the King he does not mention this conversation at all. But, besides that, there exist two letters of credence from Charles I. to Christian IV., of the first half of 1642, the first dated Dover, Feb. 23, and the second dated York, May 10; but the names and purposes of the ambassadors are not named. In the first letter the King speaks about *l'extrémité où je suis*; in the second he only mentions propositions to be made. The missions are not, as far as I know, elsewhere mentioned in Danish sources. But before this, two ambassadors, also the Colonel Henderson who returned to Denmark in the autumn of 1642, visited Christian IV. in the first days of February." I feel no doubt that the letter of credence of Feb. 23 was intended to have been carried by Digby. Of that of May 10 I can only guess that it contained detailed instructions for Digby, or for some other person, whom Charles still contemplated sending.

was absolutely necessary that the King should have in his possession a seaport in which to receive foreign troops or foreign munitions of war. The Queen had little patience with her husband's hesitation to make the attempt on Hull. "As to what you wrote me," she urged, "that everybody dissuades you concerning Hull from taking it by force, unless the Parliament begins—Is it not beginning, to put persons into it against your orders? For my part I think that the Parliament believes that you are constantly expecting an accommodation . . . and that else, they would speak after another fashion. For you having Hull is not beginning anything violent, for it is only against the rascal who refuses it to you. . . . Think that if you had not stopped so prematurely, our affairs would perhaps be in a better state than they are, and you would at this moment have Hull."[1]

April 6. The Queen urges Charles to seize Hull.

The King would gladly have had Hull if he could have had it without show of open violence. On the 14th, whilst he was still waiting for an answer to his proposal to visit Ireland, he sent a reply to the request made to him by Parliament for his permission to remove the magazine from Hull to the Tower. That reply was doubtless drawn up by Hyde. Treating the appointment of Hotham as the illegal act which it undoubtedly was, he appealed to that sense of legality which is always strong in Englishmen, and which was especially strong in the 17th century. "And now," he wrote, "let us ask you ; . . . Will there never be a time to offer to, as well as to ask of us? We will propose no more particulars to you, having no such luck to please or to be understood by you. Take your own time for what concerns our particular ; but be sure you have an early speedy care of the public, that is of the only rule which preserves the public, the law of the land ; preserve the dignity and reverence due to that. It was well said in a speech made by a private person,"—it was Pym's speech against Strafford from which Charles was about to quote—"but published by order of the House of Commons this Parliament:

April 14. The King's answer about the magazine at Hull.

Charles quotes Pym.

[1] The Queen to the King, April $\frac{6}{16}$, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 59.

'The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion, every man will become a law unto himself; which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law; covetousness and ambition will become laws, and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce may easily be discerned.' So said that gentleman, and much more very well in defence of the law, and against arbitrary power." [1]

Value of this reply.

Over Pym and the Parliamentary majority Charles might enjoy an argumentative triumph. Their own experience was teaching them the truth which Strafford had always firmly upheld, that the government of nations must rest upon a broader basis than that of positive law. They had grasped at arbitrary power to defeat arbitrary power. Charles clung to arbitrary power under the form of legality. Pym's true answer was that the King was not to be trusted. A legal power, which was to put the King at the head of a conquering army in Ireland, in order that he might return with the means in his hands of stopping even the most necessary reforms in England, was a legal power which ought to be abolished as soon as possible.

Already, before this message was received, Parliament had begged the King to desist from his purpose of visiting Ireland,

April 15. Parliament requests the King not to go to Ireland.

under the transparent pretext of anxiety for the safety of his person, and had added a threat that if he persisted in going, they would pay no obedience to any commissioners appointed to govern England in his absence. Their answer to the King's appeal to the law was a peremptory order that the magazine should be removed from Hull, accompanied with a full approval of Hotham's conduct in command. On the other hand something was done to give the King satisfaction in his demands about the militia and the Church. On the 20th the Commons took in hand the nomina-

April 18. Order of Parliament to remove the magazine.

April 20. Nomination of divines.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 532.

tion of the divines who were to be consulted on the proposed ecclesiastical reforms, and on the same day the King's Militia Bill, which had come down from the Lords, passed through committee. It is true that it was subjected to some amendments. The time of its operation was extended from one to two years, and it was now proposed that instead of leaving the right of calling out and employing the militia to the King's orders, signified by the two Houses of Parliament, it should be left with the Lords-Lieutenants themselves, who were named in the Bill. It was obvious that, as proposed by the King, the Bill would, as long as Charles remained in the kingdom, have reduced the militia to inactivity, unless he chose to send a message requesting the Houses to put it in motion ; and that it would therefore offer no security against an invasion coming with the concurrence of Charles himself.[1]

The King's Militia Bill

It is unlikely that Charles, as soon as he heard that he was not to go to Ireland, retained any inclination to favour the Militia Bill, even in the shape in which it had left his hands. The reception of the resolution of the Houses to remove the magazine from Hull stung him at once to action of that kind which he most affected. He would go to Hull, not as an act of war, but merely to take possession of his own. The town was his, and the munitions were his. Who would resist him if he claimed his own property?

The King resolves to go to Hull.

He was the more able to act freely as he had just had the satisfaction of recovering another of his children. On the 16th Hertford arrived, bringing with him the Duke of York.[2] In that which Charles was about to do he had some local feeling on his side. On the 22nd Sir Francis Wortley and about twenty other Yorkshiremen presented him with a petition in the name of the county, in which he was asked to forbid the removal of the munitions.

April 16. The Duke of York brought to the King.

April 22. Wortley's petition.

Charles indeed made it his object to avoid everything

[1] The account of the Bill comes from the subsequent explanations on both sides. The reason given for its amendment is purely conjectural.

[2] Nicholas to Roe, April 20, *S. P. Dom.*

that savoured of violence. He believed that Sir John Hotham, if properly approached, would not refuse to surrender the fortress to its natural master. On the 22nd, therefore, he sent the Elector Palatine and the Duke of York to visit the town, as if to satisfy their curiosity. The lads were directed to send information to the King as to his chance of obtaining admission. In their inexperience they mistook the respect with which they were received for a sign of loyal submission, and despatched a messenger to the King with a favourable account of all that they had witnessed.[1] The next day accordingly Charles set out for Hull. When he was three or four miles off, he punctiliously sent Bristol's half-brother, Sir Lewis Dives, with a letter to Hotham, explaining that he was coming to view his magazines, and threatening, in case of refusal, to make his way into the town, 'according to the laws of the land.'[2]

April 23. The King before Hull.

If Hotham had been suddenly confronted by the King in person, it is possible that he might have given way. As it was, he had plenty of time to collect his thoughts. He knew that about forty-five suspicious persons had entered the town the night before in the train of the Princes, and he had reason to believe that the Princes had not come on a mere passing visit of curiosity. He was now informed that Charles had 300 horsemen in his train, and it was rumoured that there were 400 more behind. Before the King made his appearance, Hotham resolved to be true to those who had placed him where he was. He ordered the drawbridges to be drawn up, and sent to announce to Charles his resolution. When he learned that in spite of this message the King was before the gates, he took his stand on the wall. With all humble expressions of duty he refused to break his trust. Charles was not likely to be satisfied with such an excuse as this. His followers cried out to the garrison to kill Hotham and to throw him over the wall. The garrison stood staunchly by their commander. Charles made one last

Hotham's position.

Hotham refuses to admit the King.

[1] Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{April } 29}{\text{May } 9}$, *Venice Transcripts*, *R. O.*

[2] Hotham to the Speaker, *L. J.* v. 28.

attempt. He engaged that if Hotham would but let him in he would bring with him no more than twenty men. Hotham, who knew that, on account of the Royalist feeling of the population, it would be as easy to get him out again with 300 as with 20, positively refused. Charles called on the heralds to proclaim Hotham a traitor, and rode discomfited away.

It was a matter of course that a long and vehement paper war should arise out of this incident, that the Houses should declare that the King's efforts to get possession of Hull were actuated by a desire to obtain a basis of operations for a Civil War, and that the King should declare that Hotham had simply committed an act of treason. The real interest of the situation lay elsewhere. That King and Parliament could not leave their quarrel much longer to the arbitrament of amicable discussion was by this time a foregone conclusion. The only question of real importance was whether Charles would find an army to back him. His first attempt did not seem likely to be crowned with success. On the 30th a large number of the gentry of Yorkshire with the high sheriff at their head appeared to present a petition to the King repudiating the action of Sir Francis Wortley. Before the petition was presented Charles asked them whether they would defend his person from violence, and would advise him how to vindicate himself from the affront which he had received at Hull. They replied that they would always be ready to defend him from violence, and that the best way to vindicate his honour was to follow the counsel of Parliament.[1] Charles was obliged to content himself with the issue of a negative order to the high sheriff requiring him to prohibit the levy of the trained bands of the county except on a summons from himself.[2] On the same day the Houses at Westminster having heard that Charles had positively refused his assent to his own Militia Bill on the pretext of the alterations which had been made in it, issued a declaration of their resolution to fall back

Controversy opened.

April 30. The King's demand of the Yorkshiremen.

May 5. Prohibits the levy of the Yorkshire trained bands.

Declaration that the militia ordinance is to be executed.

[1] *L. J.* v. 36. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* 163, fol. 101 b.

[2] *Rushworth*, iv. 574.

upon the ordinance, and required all persons in authority to put it in execution. At the same time they despatched a committee to Yorkshire to watch over their interests there.[1]

Committee sent to Yorkshire.

It was not in Yorkshire alone that Charles met with a rebuff. In Scotland, too, he had been asking for more support than he was likely to get. The proposal of going to Ireland had been in all probability of the Queen's suggestion. What she wanted was that he should join the army of the Catholics there. Charles preferred to wage war under forms of peace. At the same time that he had announced[2] to his English Parliament his intention of going to Ireland, he had made a similar announcement to the Scottish Privy Council, informing them that he intended to take Edinburgh on his way. He even hoped that Scotland would support him in his contention against the English Parliament. No hope could have been wilder. He had, it is true, a considerable party in the Scottish Council. But Argyle stood firm, and Argyle's will was not to be resisted. On April 22 the Council drew up a recommendation to the King to abandon the Irish expedition and to come to terms with his Parliament.

Scotland refuses to help the King.

Whilst Charles was beating about for support, the Commons acted on the supposition that he intended to make war against them if only he were able to do so. On the 23rd Parliament struck at the King through the Attorney-General. Sir Edward Herbert was sentenced to imprisonment for his conduct in impeaching the members. There was nothing vindictive in his treatment, and in little more than a fortnight he was set at liberty.[3] On the 30th the Kentish petition at last reached the House. Two of the principal gentlemen who brought it were at once committed to prison; Bristol had been released some days before. On May 7 a peremptory order for the

April 23. Sentence on the Attorney-General.

April 30. The Kentish petition presented.

[1] *L. J.* v. 46.

[2] Declaration, April 22. *L. J.* v. 53. The Queen to the King, $\frac{\text{April } 25}{\text{May } 5}$, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 66. Forster to Chavigny, April $\frac{15}{25}$, *Arch. des Aff Étr.* xlix. fol. 83.

[3] *L. J.* v. 11, 58.

removal of the Hull magazine was issued by Parliament, and on the 10th a review of the London trained bands, 8,000 strong, was held in Finsbury Fields in the presence of both Houses of Parliament.[1]

May 10. Review in Finsbury Fields.

The King's prospects appeared more gloomy every day. On the 8th the Parliamentary commissioners arrived at York. As might have been expected they found but a cool reception from Charles, who warned them not to tamper with his subjects there. He had invited the gentry of the county to meet him at York on the 12th. On their arrival he unfolded his wrongs in their presence. "You see," he said, "that my magazine is going to be taken from me—being my own proper goods—directly against my will. The Militia, against law and my consent, is going to be put in execution; and lastly, Sir John Hotham's treason is countenanced. All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend danger." He was therefore resolved to have a guard for the protection of his person, and to this he asked their concurrence.

The King at York.

May 12. The King's appeal to the Yorkshire gentry.

The assembly was much divided. The next morning four several answers were returned, ranging from complete acquiescence in the King's demand to a curt advice to him to hearken to his Parliament. In the end a committee of twelve was appointed to draw up a reply; whilst a large number of freeholders complained bitterly that they ought to have been consulted on the matter as well as the gentry, and urged upon the King the importance of coming to an understanding with his Parliament.[2]

May 13. Diversity of their answers.

The committee of twelve could come to no agreement. Six were for doing as the King wished, and six were for a negative answer. Charles took the matter into his own hands. On the 14th he issued orders that the gentry of the county were to appear in arms at York on the 20th as a guard for his person.[3] The next day a regiment of the Yorkshire trained bands was bidden to meet in arms on the

May 14. The King orders a guard.

[1] *Clarendon*, v. 139. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, May $\frac{13}{23}$.

[2] *Rushworth*, iv. 615.

[3] *Ibid.* 621.

17th. At the same time Charles sent directions to Skippon, the commander of the City trained bands, to come to York, and ordered the Lord Keeper to remove the Law Courts from Westminster to the same city.

May 15. Sends for Skippon, and orders the removal of the courts.

On the 17th the Houses resolved that the removal of the courts and the order to Skippon were both illegal, and directed the sheriffs to suppress any levy of men made without their authority.[1] On the 20th they expressed the opinion that the King intended to make war against his Parliament, and summoned him to desist from his purpose of raising troops. If he did not, they would be bound to use their utmost endeavours to secure the peace and quiet of the kingdom.[2]

May 17. Resistance of Parliament.

May 20. Summons from Parliament.

Charles had already made up his mind to summon round him what forces he had at his disposal. His Yorkshire guard would not have been sufficient to secure him. The regiment of trained bands called out by him was quartered at York, and on the 21st about 200 gentlemen of the county rode in to place themselves at his disposal. He had invited the Lords and Commons who were willing to support him to place themselves by his side, and one or two lords had already responded to the call. The Lord-Keeper, timid and indecisive, yet unable to resist a Royal order, had been the first to slip away and to bring the Great Seal to the King at York. Hyde quickly followed, and for some time there was a continual stream of noblemen and gentlemen making their way northwards. On the other hand, Warwick's ships fetched away the stores from Hull before the end of the month, and safely lodged them in the Tower.

May 21. The King's guard.

Flight of Lords and Commons.

All this time the paper war had continued as hotly as ever. At last on June 2 it was brought to a head by the Nineteen Propositions sent off on that day by the Houses to the King. They were a new edition of the Provisions of Oxford. They claimed sovereignty for Parliament in every particular. The King's Council, the

June 2. The Nineteen Propositions.

[1] *L. J.* v. 67. [2] *Ibid.* 76.

King's officials, the very judges of the land were to be selected by Parliament. The Militia ordinance was to be accepted, all delinquents to submit to the justice of Parliament, the King's guard to be dismissed, and the fortresses placed in the hands of persons approved of by Parliament. The recusancy laws were to be put fully into execution. The children of Roman Catholic parents were to be educated as Protestants. The Church was to be reformed according to the desires of Parliament, and no Peers subsequently created were to be allowed to sit in the House of Lords without the consent of both Houses.[1]

Their character.

It is impossible to deny that these propositions carried with them an abrogation of the existing constitution; yet with the exception of the clauses directed against the recusants, and those which related merely to matters of temporary importance, there is scarcely a word in them which is not in accordance with the spirit of the constitution of the present day. What we do indirectly through a Cabinet which maintains itself in power only so long as it is secure of the support of the House of Commons, our forefathers proposed to do directly by an immediate vote of the two Houses. Sovereignty, they held, must be lodged in Parliament which represented the nation, and not in a king on whom no man could depend. Such a view implied a great step in advance. Pym's greatness lies in the clearness with which he substituted the notion of the civic duty of loyalty to the corporate body of the nation for that of duty to a single person.

So far the argument sounds well enough. Its weakness lay in the fact that this special Parliament did not at this time any longer represent the nation as a whole, nor did it claim to content itself with representative functions alone. Where thought is free and religious and scientific liberty is secured, a representative assembly may well claim to be but the mirror in which the national purpose is reflected. It does not claim to force future generations into a form which it has chosen for them. It leaves the wind of spirit and intelligence to blow whither it listeth, and makes no attempt to crush down the

[1] *L. J.* v. 97.

new life of the future into the narrow mould of which alone it approves. It was not so with the Long Parliament in 1642. It was resolved to choose for the nation the Church-forms and the Church-doctrine which it thought best. In all matters of the highest moment England was to take its ply from Parliament, and not Parliament from England. Pym and his comrades claimed the rights of representation without understanding its duties.

Nor was this all. Even if it could be assumed that the ecclesiastical policy of Pym's supporters was entirely right, it was inevitable that, in the clash of authorities, Parliament should assume many functions which it could not permanently exercise without detriment to the nation. Parliament had come slowly and reluctantly to the conclusion that the government of England could not safely be left in Charles's hands. Charles could not be allowed to use the executive powers which he had hitherto possessed to introduce foreign troops into an English seaport, and with their help to make himself master of the country. Yet it was impossible that those executive powers could remain in abeyance. Even when public excitement is at the lowest ebb, it is absolutely necessary that there shall be some government to direct the course of public action. Recent experience has taught us that the wisest course would have been the dethronement of Charles and the immediate instalment of a new sovereign. The Long Parliament could not as yet venture on such a step. Public opinion amongst its own members as well as in the nation would have scouted the idea as treacherous and disloyal, and its own anxiety to innovate as little as possible led it to the greatest and most disastrous of innovations. The Houses took the executive authority into their own hands, and assumed functions for which a representative assembly is by its very nature unfitted. Nothing could come of it but hasty and violent action. Rewards and punishments would be distributed according to the temper of the majority. The majesty of the law would be overwhelmed in the attempt to uphold it. In the midst of the struggles of parties and factions the will of the many would be substituted for the will of one.

It was this which was sending so many of the English gentry on the road to York. They felt instinctively that it was not a reign of liberty which was offered them at Westminster.

Nothing better to be hoped from Charles.

Yet what better thing could they expect from Charles? What possible political institutions could be founded on his dry legality, on his persistent claim to stop all legislation to which his personal assent was not given, on his determination to ignore the rights of conscience in all who differed from himself? What better thing, we may even ask, could these Royalists expect from themselves? At their worst, they were rebels against the strict and stern morality of Puritanism. At their best, they were upholders of the culture of the Renaissance in religion and in life, and in following after culture, as often happens, they had lost that touch of the spiritual needs of the masses without which culture loses its power as a social force. The chasm which had been opened in the sixteenth century was widened in the seventeenth into a yawning gulf. The mind of the modern enquirer seeking for indications of peace turns bewildered from Westminster to York, and back again from York to Westminster. Nowhere is to be seen the large-hearted genius which pierces to the heart of a situation, and holds aloft the principle which reconciles instead of the principle which separates. The nation, as well as its Parliament, has broken asunder, and sad and evil are the days that are before it. Yet the spectacle, miserable as it is, is not one to be turned from with loathing. "If the heart be right," said Raleigh on the scaffold, "what matter how the head lie?" With most who took opposite sides now, the heart was right. Cavalier and Roundhead were taking sides neither in thoughtlessness nor in anger. Each saw the fault in his brother; though he could not discern his own.

Even by this time it was not absolutely certain that the King would find a party to defend him. On June 3, whilst the Nineteen Propositions were on their way from London, the freeholders and farmers of Yorkshire met, at the King's bidding, on Heyworth Moor, close to York. The number of those who flocked to the rendezvous

June 3. The meeting at Heyworth Moor.

was variously calculated at from 40,000 to 80,000. It was too great a number to come to any ascertained decision. Copies of an appeal made by Charles to his subjects' loyalty were read aloud in different parts of the moor. The King, followed by his new guard, rode about to show himself to his subjects. Once Sir Thomas Fairfax, the eldest son of that Lord Fairfax who was member for the county and one of the Parliamentary commissioners, pressed near enough to offer a petition on the Parliamentary side. Charles refused to receive it, though Fairfax laid it on the pommel of his saddle. Fairfax was hustled and insulted by the King's attendants. In so large a crowd no order could be kept, and no attempt was made to ascertain its real feeling. Shouts were raised for the King from time to time, but no definite proposition was made, and no definite engagement given. Each party interpreted the temper of the meeting according to its own sympathies. Parliamentarians thought that the absence of any distinct offer to support the King was evidence that the popular feeling was against him. Royalists attributed this result merely to defective organisation, and asserted that if a Royalist petition were circulated it would be subscribed by as many hands as there were heads at the meeting. Satisfactory news, too, arrived from Wales, and it was understood that the Principality was prepared to rise at a moment's warning.[1]

At Westminster each successive step taken by the King was met by a fresh act of defiance. On June 6 Charles's prohibition of the musters of the militia was answered by a declaration in which sovereignty was claimed by Parliament even more distinctly than before. If the King, they asserted, chose to allow armed bands to be collected for the breach of the peace, it was the duty of the Houses to interfere. "What they do herein hath the stamp of Royal authority, although His Majesty, seduced by evil counsel, do in his own person oppose or interrupt the same; for the King's supreme and royal pleasure is exercised and declared in this high court of law and counsel, after a more eminent and

June 6. Sovereignty distinctly claimed by Parliament.

[1] Boynton to Constable, June 4. Nicholas to Roe, June 8, *S. P. Dom.*

obligatory manner than it can be by personal act or resolution of his own."[1]

From such a declaration there was no drawing back. What was now done, was done, as the Houses firmly believed, in their self-defence. "Peace and our liberties," wrote one of the most moderate and unambitious members of the House, "are the only things we aim at. Till we have peace, I am sure we can enjoy no liberties, and without our liberties, I shall not heartily desire peace."[2]

On the 9th an ordinance was passed calling on everyone who was willing to assist his suffering country to bring in money, plate, or horses for its service.[3] Lords and Commons liberally responded to the appeal, though there were many still on the benches of the Lower House who refused to answer to the call made individually to them in the House.[4] Constitutional purists, like D'Ewes, might well regret that in thus demanding of each man a declaration of his intention, 'the very liberty and freedom of the House suffered.'[5] The time for such scruples had passed. Men were taking sides in a civil war, not carrying on a constitutional debate. More to the purpose was the sharp answer of Killigrew, a Royalist member who still remained at Westminster. "If there be occasion," he said, "I will provide a good horse and a good sword, and I make no question but I shall find a good cause."[6] Such words were not of peaceful omen. On the 11th, news arrived more threatening still. It was now known that the Queen had been selling or pawning jewels in Amsterdam, and had purchased considerable stores of munitions of war for the service of the King.[7]

June 9. Ordinance for bringing in money, plate, and horses.

June 10. Personal call on the Lords and Commons.

June 11. Arms prepared at Amsterdam.

[1] *L. J.* v. 112.

[2] Sir R. Verney to Lady Barrymore, June 9, *Verney MSS.*

[3] *L. J.* v. 121.

[4] According to Nicholas 70 subscribed, 33 craved time for consideration, 50 refused. Nicholas to Roe, June 15, *S. P. Dom.*

[5] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 157.

[6] *Clarendon*, v. 338.

[7] *L. J.* v. 126. The Queen to the King, $\frac{\text{May } 25}{\text{June } 4}$, June $\frac{7}{17}$, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 77, 81.

On the very day on which this information was circulated in London, a forward step was taken at York. It was there resolved to meet organisation by organisation. Charles had indeed already issued a proclamation prohibiting the execution of the Militia Ordinance; but that prohibition had produced no effect whatever to the south of the Humber. In London, indeed, the Lord Mayor was so good a Royalist as to order the proclamation containing the prohibition to be publicly read in the City. But even in Lincolnshire, where Royalism was strong amongst the gentry, Lord Willoughby had succeeded in inducing the trained bands of the county to accept the Parliamentary Ordinance. On the 11th, therefore, Charles determined to take more active measures, and by issuing commissions of array to direct the trained bands to place themselves at the disposal of officers appointed by himself. Parliament indeed questioned the legality of these commissions, and a new controversy sprang up as bitter and as lengthy as that which had raged over Hotham's right to occupy Hull.[1]

The King's prohibition of the execution of the Militia Ordinance without effect.

The commissions of array.

Such controversy was of no practical importance whatever. The main question for the moment was whether the King would succeed in carrying his own party with him. Again and again, in the course of the past year, he had alienated his friends by engaging in plots with foreign powers or with discontented soldiers. If he would be at the head of a great party in England, he must rely upon that party alone. He must share its feelings and its prejudices. Yet even the Lords and gentry who had joined the King at York were by no means so active in his service as he could have wished. They were weary of Pym's dictation, and they were resolved not to submit their necks to the Puritan yoke; but they had no wish to provoke a civil war, and with all their hearts they detested those intrigues with the Irish Catholics and with foreign powers, the existence of which they could hardly help suspecting. If Charles was not to be isolated as he had been in 1640, he must throw himself, as far as his nature per-

Feeling of the Lords at York.

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 655.

mitted him to do so, entirely upon the loyalty of his English supporters.

It was this that Charles at last resolved to do. Yet even now, if he for a time took the right course it was rather because his intrigues had failed him than because he had made up his mind to abandon his intrigues. The news which reached him from beyond the limits of England in the first fortnight of June was not encouraging. Early in May he had made a fresh appeal for help to the Scottish Council.[1] He called on all the members of the Council on whom he could rely to attend at Edinburgh in order to cast their votes on his side. They came according to the custom of their class and nation with armed retainers at their backs. The rumour spread that Argyle was in danger. At once thousands of sturdy peasants flocked over from Fife. Edinburgh and the Lothians declared for Argyle. On May 31st a deputation, with the Earl of Haddington at its head, summoned the Council to keep peace with the English Parliament. The Council dared not disobey the popular cry. On June 2 an answer was returned to Charles vaguely worded, but conveying an unmistakable intimation that if he quarrelled with the English Parliament he had no assistance to expect from Scotland.

May 20. Charles appeals to the Scottish Council for help.

May 31.

June 2. Refusal of Scotland.

Still less hopeful was the news from the Hague. The Dutch ambassadors for England had indeed been nominated, but it was understood that they would offer no mediation unless it were agreeable to both parties. Frederick Henry, finding that the stream of public feeling in his own country was against him, had withdrawn his countenance from the Queen's projects. Denmark and Bavaria, France and Spain showed no signs of helping her. For a time Henrietta Maria had clung to the hope that something might come of the King's journey to Ireland, and had proposed to join him there. That journey to Ireland was, however, now definitely abandoned, and the Queen remained at the Hague chafing at her enforced

News from the Hague.

[1] The King to the Scottish Council, May 9. The King's Declaration, May 20. Petition to the Council, May 31. The Council to the King, June 4, *Council Act Book*, Registry Office, Edinburgh.

inactivity, and wondering why it was that all men did not rise up in support of her righteous cause.[1]

Under this discouragement Charles at last discovered that it would be better for him to show confidence in his own subjects than to put his trust in foreign aid.[2] He now strove to assure those who surrounded him that he would stand solely on the defensive. On June 13, he announced that he would maintain the liberties and the just privileges of Parliament, and 'that he would not, as was pretended, engage them or any of them in any war against the Parliament, except it were for his necessary defence and safety against such as did insolently invade or attempt against his Majesty or such as should adhere to his Majesty.' To this the Peers at York replied that they would stand by the King's just prerogative, and would not obey any order respecting the militia which had not the Royal assent. Two days later Charles called on the Peers to join in a protest that no aggressive war was intended. They at once responded to his call. "We," they said, "whose names are underwritten, in obedience to his Majesty's desire, and out of the duty which we owe to his Majesty's honour and to truth, being here upon the place, and witnesses of his Majesty's frequent and earnest declarations and professions of his abhorring all designs of making war upon his Parliament; and not seeing any colour of preparations or

June 13. The King's declaration.

Engagement of the Peers.

June 15. Charles and the Peers protest that they do not mean war.

[1] See Rossetti's letters, and Zon's despatches for April and May.

[2] After describing the Queen's failure in the words printed at p. 177, note 4, Rossetti continues as follows: "Onde il Rè d'Inghilterra considerando bene la presente consideratione degl' interessi del mondo, scorge da ogni banda di poter poco sperare; ma se pure da alcuna delle predette parte potesse ricevere qualche aiuto di gente, pensarebbe questo essergli di desvantaggio più tosto che di profitto, attesa l' avversione che quei popoli hanno naturalmente a forastieri, et anco per esser questi troppo dannosi, dubitandosi che i medesimi del partito del Rè, quando quelli l' introducessero nell' Isola, fassero per alienarsi da S. M^tà, . .. per le quali cagioni ha deliberato di procurare con le forze naturali del Regno, e per via di negotiationi co' Principali dal Parlamento d' andar estenuando la fattione Parlamentaria e con la forza destramente mettersi in autorità et in atto di potere comandare."—Rossetti to Barberini, July $\frac{3}{13}$, *R. O. Transcripts.*

counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such designs, do profess before God and testify to all the world that we are fully persuaded that his Majesty hath no such intention, but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant religion; the just privileges of Parliament; the liberty of the subject; the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom." To this were subscribed the names of thirty-five Peers, and also those of Falkland, Nicholas, Culpepper, Sir Peter Wych, and Chief Justice Bankes.[1]

Foundation of the Royalist Constitutional party.

The acceptance of Charles's declaration by the Peers was an event of no slight importance in English history. It laid the foundations of that great party which, under the management of Hyde, ultimately brought about the Restoration settlement, and which struggled in vain to maintain it after time had proved its hollowness. For the time Charles and his supporters were bound together by the strongest of all ties, a common hatred. The immediate effect of the protestation of the Peers was absolutely nothing. No war was ever staved off by the declarations of both parties that they intend to stand on the defensive, if it were only because neither party is ever of one mind with the other upon the limits which separate the defensive from the offensive.

June 16. The commissions of array to be executed.

The very day after the protestation was signed it was resolved to put in execution the Commissions of Array, and it was certain that Parliament would consider this a direct act of offensive warfare.

Condition of Leicestershire.

It was resolved to make a beginning with Leicestershire. The Parliamentary Lord-Lieutenant was the Earl of Stamford, an incompetent man of large estate. The leading spirit amongst the King's Commissioners was Henry Hastings, a younger son of the Earl of Huntingdon. In the greater part of the county the feeling was in favour of Parliament, but the Mayor of Leicester and some members of the Corporation sided with the King.

On the 16th Hastings arrived at Leicester, hoping to get into his hands the county magazine of arms and munitions.

[1] *Clarendon*, v. 342.

To his disappointment he found that it had been removed to Stamford's house at Broadgate. In the absence of the sheriff he persuaded the under-sheriff to issue warrants for the execution of commissions of array. He then went back to York, but returned on the 22nd, bringing with him a hundred armed miners from his collieries in Derbyshire, and as many other persons as he could persuade to follow him. He found that the county was against him. Scarcely a man of the trained bands would answer to his summons. When he entered Leicester he was confronted by Palmer, the high sheriff, who denounced his proceedings as illegal. An audacious messenger sent by Parliament to arrest him attempted to carry out the orders which he had received. Hastings, however, was rescued by his friends, and ultimately left the town.[1]

Henry Hastings at Leicester.

June 22.

In Leicestershire the King's Commissioners were in what can hardly be described otherwise than as an enemy's country. In Northumberland Charles was in no such difficulty. On the 17th the Earl of Newcastle took possession of Newcastle for the King. Levying soldiers amongst his own tenants and the trained bands of Northumberland and Durham, he secured Tynemouth Castle and erected fortifications at Shields. Charles had at last a port where he might receive supplies from Holland.[2] His supporters were jubilant. The King, wrote one of them, was now 'the favourite of the kingdom.' His enemies would doubtless raise an army against him. It was all the better. They would do enough to entail on themselves the forfeiture of their estates, which would then be bestowed on the King's good servants.[3] Such was the spirit which was rising alongside of the constitutionalisms of Culpepper and Hyde.

June 17. Newcastle seized.

At York all men were busy in preparing for that war which was now seen to be inevitable. If money and plate were pouring in at Westminster, the King's principal supporters entered no less zealously into an engagement to furnish him with 1,935

[1] Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, iii. App. 22. *L. J.* v. 131, 142, 164.

[2] *L. J.* v. 170.

[3] Wilmot to Crofts, June 22. *L. J.* v. 169.

horse, and to pay them for three months.[1] Such offers would not, however, constitute an army. By separating from London and his Parliament, Charles had cut himself off from those financial resources which were still left to him by the law. When he left Greenwich on his Northern journey, he had no more than 600*l.* in hand. That he had been able to maintain himself at all during the past months had been owing, not to the scanty resources of the public revenue, but to the munificence of a single Catholic peer. The Earl of Worcester, the Lord of Raglan Castle, was possessed of an estate valued at 24,000*l.* a year, a rental equivalent to more than 100,000*l.* at the present day. As a Catholic he was exposed to especial risks in the impending conflict, and if he had been himself indisposed to assist his sovereign, he could hardly fail to be dragged away by the impetuous zeal of his eldest son.

June 22. Engagement to furnish horse for the King.

The Earl of Worcester.

That son, Lord Herbert, far better known by his later titles of Glamorgan and Worcester, was a man of genius. He who divined the steam-engine a century before the days of Watt, now threw himself, with all the ardour of an enthusiast, into the cause of the King. Over him Charles exercised that wonderful charm which sprang from his gentleness and the consideration which he exercised towards those who accepted his sway. From time to time during the first weeks after the King had left Greenwich, Herbert supplied him with no less than 22,000*l.* from his own and his father's resources. Then, when open resistance to the Parliament seemed, to a Royalist so decided as Herbert, the only honourable course—in all probability in the early part of June—the heir of Raglan was busy in gathering all the money that it was in his power to collect, and at last found his way to York, to pour no less than 95,500*l.* into the exhausted treasury of his astonished master, whilst 5,000*l.* more followed in July.[2] Thus, and thus only, was Charles enabled to prepare for the field.

Lord Herbert.

Supplies Charles with money.

June 30.

In the end of June, the activity of the Royalists was more

[1] Engagement, June 22, *S. P. Dom.*

[2] Dircks's *Life of the Marquis of Worcester*, 54, 330.

vigorous than ever. On the 30th Hastings was once more in Leicestershire, with an armed force and the notorious Lunsford in his train. At Ashby-de-la-Zouch, he announced his own appointment as High Sheriff of the county.[1] "We must look to our safeties," said Pym, when the news reached Westminster. The feeling of the House was that force must be met by force, and that troops must be despatched to Leicestershire. "This," wrote D'Ewes in his diary, "was a sad morning's work. . . . I, seeing all matters tending to speedy destruction and confusion, had no heart to take notes that afternoon." Again and again during the past month he had expressed in his written self-communings the horror with which he regarded the approaching war, and his distrust of the fiery spirits, as he termed them, who were persuading the House to defy the King, and to lay down principles of government which he knew better than anyone else to be very different from those which had been accepted in earlier centuries. Yet it was not mere timidity which kept D'Ewes fixed at Westminster. If his reverence for law and precedent drew him to the side of Charles, his Puritanism fixed him reluctantly by the side of Pym, and with him, as with so many of his contemporaries, the religious motive was the strongest.

Hastings returns to Leicestershire.

July 1. Parliamentary troops to be sent.

Feeling of D'Ewes.

More startling news than that from Leicestershire awaited the Houses. Northumberland informed the Lords that he had been dismissed from his office of Lord High Admiral. An ordinance was at once prepared, directing Warwick to continue in charge of the fleet in the Downs. Charles, indeed, had made arrangements for confiding it to Pennington. Letters had been despatched to the captains simultaneously with the order dismissing Northumberland, directing them to obey Pennington and not Warwick. Pennington set out from York to assume the command, and travelled hard till he was near the Downs. Then he hesitated and waited for further information. On the 2nd Warwick came on board the flag ship, and

Northumberland dismissed.

Is Warwick or Pennington to command the fleet?

July 2. The fleet accepts Warwick.

[1] *C. J.* iii. 646. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 252 b.

summoned the captains to accept him as their Admiral. Five only stood out, but their crews gave them no support, and before the day was over the fleet had placed itself at the disposal of Parliament.[1]

As Pennington had failed in the Downs, Hastings failed in Leicestershire. He wished to possess himself of the county magazine at Broadgate, but the popular feeling was too strongly against him, and he was compelled to content himself with proclaiming as traitors those who detained it from the King.[2]

Hastings' failure in Leicestershire.

Charles's attempt to get possession of the fleet and of the magazine in Leicestershire was accepted at Westminster as a declaration of war. At the request of the Commons, the Lords concurred in the appointment of a joint committee 'to take into consideration whatsoever may concern the safety of the Kingdom, the defence of the Parliament, and the prevention of the peace of the Kingdom, and opposing any force that may be raised against the Parliament.' In this committee, composed of fifteen members, five lords, Northumberland, Essex, Pembroke, Holland, and Saye, were joined with ten commoners, of whom the most conspicuous were Pym, Hampden, Fiennes, Holles, and Marten.[3] In this committee of safety Parliament had at last the rudiments of a Government. It was evident that its first occupation would be of a military nature. On the 5th it was known that a small vessel from Holland had brought to the Humber arms and ammunition from the Queen.[4] The first thing to be done was to secure Parliament from interruption near at hand. Lord Mayor Gurney, who had actually published the King's commission of array in the City, was impeached, and by the 6th a vote had been agreed to by both Houses for raising, from London and the neighbourhood, a special army of 10,000 men for active service.

July 4. Appointment of a committee of safety.

July 5. News from the Humber.

Impeachment of the Lord Mayor.

July 6. An army to be raised.

[1] *L. J.* v. 169, 178, 185. *Clarendon*, v. 376.

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 255 b.

[3] *L. J.* v. 178. *C. J.* ii. 651. The other five were Sir W. Waller, Sir P. Stapleton, Sir J. Meyrick, Pierpoint, and Glyn.

[4] *L. J.* v. 182.

The ordinance for organising the militia for the defence of each county was no longer deemed sufficient.[1]

The spectre of civil war was visibly there before the eyes of all men. To the horror which its aspect created D'Ewes gave expression. "In respect of civil affairs," he said, "I dare be bold to say that the liberty and property of the subject were never so clearly asserted to them as they are at present. The main matter then which yet remains to be secured to us is the reformation of religion, and I desire that we may come to particulars in that. If a monarchy continue amongst us, there must of necessity remain a confidence from the subjects towards the Prince. For the town of Hull itself, I desire not that it should be delivered up to his Majesty, but that we might humbly supplicate his Majesty to appoint Sir John Hotham governor there, till other things were peaceably composed between his Majesty and us, and that he should not deliver it up but by his Majesty's command, signified to him by both Houses of Parliament."

D'Ewes asks for an accommodation.

No wonder that cries of "Well moved!" were heard on every side. No wonder too that a proposal which commended itself to the feelings of the House was rejected by its intelligence. It needed but little acquaintance with human nature to know that the King would never accede either to a Puritan Reformation of religion, or to the appointment of Hotham to the command of Hull. No one cared to answer the benevolent antiquary, and the House quietly passed to the consideration of matters of more practical importance.[2]

Reception of the proposal.

On the 8th news came in of increasing Royalist activity in the Western Midlands. Herefordshire had declared strongly against Parliament. In Worcestershire the sheriff, backed by Lord Coventry, was prepared to execute the commission of array. It was known on the following day that Lord Northampton had announced

July 8. News of fresh Royalist movements.

[1] *C. J.* ii. 653, 654.

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 259. I quote this speech in preference to Rudyerd's, which seems to have been delivered soon after it, because D'Ewes goes more to the root of the matter.

his intention of pursuing the same course in Warwickshire. At York, the King had granted commissions for the raising of cavalry, and had himself taken up a position at Beverley at the head of a small force under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, whom he had appointed general of his army.[1] The Commons resolved that the army of 10,000 should at once be levied.[2] On the 11th the Houses concurred in a declaration that the King had actually begun the war.[3] On the 12th Essex was appointed to command the Parliamentary army, and each member of the two Houses was called on to declare his readiness to live and die with the new general 'in this cause, for the safety of the King's person, the defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obeyed their orders and commands, and for the preservation of the true religion, laws, liberties, and peace of the Kingdom.'[4] Incongruous as these phrases sound now, they were doubtless a true expression of the feelings of those who then uttered them.

July 9. Resolutions of the Commons. July 11. Declaration that the King has begun the war. July 12. Essex appointed general.

This resolution was accompanied by a fresh petition to the King, imploring him to accommodate differences. Charles was not likely to pay heed to such a petition now. He hoped at last that the day had arrived when Hull would be in his hands. It was true that he had no more than 2,500 men with him at Beverley, and that no sane man could expect to capture a fortified town with so small a force. But it was not on force that Charles counted. Shortly before his advance to Beverley, Digby had been with him bringing intelligence from the Queen. On Digby's return the small vessel in which he sailed was captured and carried into Hull. He assumed the air and language of a Frenchman, and for a little time escaped notice. Knowing that he could not long preserve his disguise, he demanded with rare audacity to be brought before the Governor. Throwing himself on Hotham's generosity, he revealed to him his name and purpose, and urged him to play a glorious part

June 11. The King demands the delivery of Hull. Digby's intrigue with Hotham.

[1] *L. J.* v. 192, 202. [2] *C. J.* ii. 663.
[3] *L. J.* v. 201. [4] *Ibid.* v. 208.

in the restoration of peace to his country by surrendering Hull to the King.

To all this Hotham listened. He was no Puritan, and he had been pushed on, without much consideration, into the position which he now occupied. Digby's offers of Royal favour touched him, and he consented to surrender the place if the King would but attack it in person. Charles had taken him at his word, and his advance to Beverley had been the result of the expectations thus held out. As usual, however, Charles procrastinated and lost the opportunity. During the four days that he remained at Beverley, Hotham had time to meditate on the difficulties of the enterprise to which he had hastily committed himself. He told Digby that his own garrison would never allow him to give up the fortress. Digby was allowed to escape, but the gates of Hull remained closed to Charles.[1] The King rode off to Newark and Lincoln after despatching an angry summons to Parliament to give up the town. Hotham sat down to write a despatch, in which he took credit to himself for the discovery of a plot to betray Hull to the King.[2]

July 7. Hotham agrees to surrender Hull,

July 11. but changes his mind.

At Lincoln the King encouraged by his presence all who were inclined to resist the Militia Ordinance. He found much support amongst the gentry of the country, who promised to come to his aid with 400 horse. Money too, of which in spite of the liberality of Worcester and his son he was sorely in need, had been coming in at last. The University of Oxford sent him 10,000*l.*, and the Cambridge University had spent 6,000*l.* in the Royal cause.[3] On the 16th Charles was again at Beverley,[4] where he found Holland with a petition from the Houses for accommodation. No messenger could have been more ill-fitted for the task assigned to him. Amongst the Royalist party Holland was justly despised as well as detested, and it was well known in the North that the loss of Court favour had been the motive

July 15. The King at Lincoln.

Money coming in.

[1] *Clarendon*, v. 432.

[2] *L. J.* v. 209, 217.

[3] Nicholas to Roe, July 20, *S. P. Dom. Catalogue of moneys subscribed*, Aug. 5 (669, fol. 6).

[4] *L. J.* v. 224.

which had driven him at last into opposition. He lay under the imputation of cowardice, as well as of vanity and greed. "I am in such a great rage with the Parliament as nothing will pacify me," wrote a lady in the North, on a false rumour that Holland had been appointed General of the Parliamentary forces, "for they promised as all should be well if my Lord Strafford's head were off, and since then there is nothing better. We hear strange news from London, which is that many have offered to keep horses for the Parliament to fight against their King, and that my Lord of Holland is general, which puts me in the most comfort that we shall have peace, for he hath had good fortune not to fight hitherto. I hope he will prove lucky still." The longing for peace was great indeed in every part of England. "Oh, that the sweet Parliament," the same lady had written in May, "would come with the olive-branch in its mouth, it would refresh and glad all our hearts here in the North. We are like so many frighted people. For my part if I hear but a door creak, I take it to be a drum, and am ready to run out of that little valour I have." In the South the desire for peace was no less, though the blame was thrown elsewhere. "The Queen," wrote Lady Sussex from Gorhambury, "is pleased if she have so many favourites with her. I doubt we shall all fare the worse for it. So many heads together will be busy in their plots against us. God's power is above all, who I hope in mercy will yet keep us from the miseries we may expect."[1]

Holland, unfortunately, was not likely to reap benefit from the pacific sentiments of his countrymen. Under no circumstances would Charles have been likely to return a soft answer to his message, and he may have been provoked by the sight of the messenger to impart a sterner tone to his reply. The terms which he demanded were the dismissal of the Parliamentary troops, the surrender of Hull and the fleet, the disavowal of any power to make laws without his consent, and the adjournment of Parliament to some place outside London. When all

July 19. The King's answer to the petition for an accommodation.

[1] Margaret Eure to Sir R. Verney, June 20 (?). Lady Sussex to Sir R. Verney, July 3 (?), *Verney MSS.*

this had been done he would discharge his own troops, and discuss all differences in a Parliamentary way.[1]

The time for such manifestoes was rapidly drawing to a close. Already, on the 15th, the first blood of the English Civil War had been shed at Manchester. As the townsmen were engaged in carrying the Militia Ordinance into effect, Lord Strange, the heir of the Earl of Derby, a man of sustained loyalty and high courage, rode in amongst them at the head of a band of armed troopers. The townsmen were too weak to stand against his charge, and Richard Perceval, one of a number who were wounded in the struggle, died a few days afterwards of the injuries that he had received.[2]

July 15. The first blood shed at Manchester.

Once more Charles tried the effect of his presence before Hull. This time the garrison sallied out, and the King's troops retreated before their assailants, not without loss. Charles then proceeded to Leicester, where he arrived on the 22nd. Town and county alike refused to assist him, and his demand for the surrender of the county magazine was made in vain. He was forced to a compromise, by which the arms were dispersed amongst the inhabitants of the county, who were not likely to use them in his favour. Yet he was not without some gleams of hope. Though the freeholders were against him, some of the gentry took his side. Much to his delight, too, he secured the person of Bastwick, now a captain of the Leicester trained bands, and sent him off a prisoner to York.[3]

July 17. Charles's movements.

July 22.

July 24.

The actual number of troops at Charles's disposal was not

[1] *L. J.* v. 235.

[2] D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiii. fol. 293 b (E. 108). *A very true . . . relation of the . . . passages at Manchester*, *Rushworth*, iv. 680. This last is a very different account from that given by D'Ewes. In it all the blame is thrown on the townsmen. It is sometimes said that men were killed at Hull before this, but as the sally from Hull is mentioned in Salvetti's letter of $\frac{\text{July } 26}{\text{Aug. } 5}$, it, no doubt, took place later.

[3] Nichols, *Hist. of Leicestershire*, iii. App. 28. *Truths from Leicester and Nottingham* (669, fol. 6). Nicholas to Roe, July 27, *S. P. Dom.* *L. J.* v. 283. Forster to Chavigny, Aug. $\frac{4}{14}$, *Arch. des Aff. Étr.* xlix. fol.

great. Yet it was evident that in the North and West the bulk of the country gentlemen were disposed to rally to his cause, and the Parliamentary leaders felt that the time was come to provide against imminent danger. Already plate and money were being brought in large quantities. On July 30, Parliament resolved to borrow 100,000*l.*, which had been set aside for the Irish war.[1] On August 2, the Houses issued a declaration of their reasons for taking up arms. The strength of their case lay in their retrospect of Charles's past government, and of his plots and intrigues since Parliament had met. Its weakness lay in their answer to the charge that they were themselves setting up an arbitrary government, and were interpreting the law at their pleasure. Instead of replying that the necessity which had thrown on them the burden of government was none of their creating, they met the accusation with a direct denial. No rational man, they urged, would believe it to be true, 'it being impossible so many several persons as the two Houses of Parliament consist of—and either House of equal power—should all of them, or at least the major part, agree in acts of will and tyranny which make up an arbitrary government, and most improbable that the nobility and gentry of this kingdom should conspire to take away the law, by which they enjoy their estates, are protected from any act of violence and power, and differenced from the meaner sort of people, with whom otherwise they would be but fellow-servants.'[2]

Preparations for war.

July 30.

Aug. 2. Parliamentary reasons for taking up arms.

Answer to the charge that Parliament is setting up an arbitrary government.

It was a most inadequate defence. No unprejudiced person can go through the records of the Long Parliament without noticing countless occasions on which the temper and prejudices of the Commons were cast into the balance of justice. A Puritan clergyman and Laudian clergyman received very different measures at their hands. Arguments which would never have been listened to, if adduced against their own supporters, were accepted as unanswerable against a Royalist. It was not that the Long Parliament was especially arbitrary or tyrannical. It acted but as every large

How far was it successful?

[1] *Rushworth*, iv. 778.

[2] *L. J.* v. 258.

body of men is certain to act, when it is called upon to fulfil judicial functions in political cases. Yet, after all, the Long Parliament, objectionable as many of its proceedings were, had fallen far short of the tyranny of the Star Chamber. It had deprived many clergymen of their benefices who were fitted to hold them, and had committed to prison many persons who had done no more than their duty according to their understanding. But it cut off no ears, and it inflicted no scourgings. Its imprisonments were usually short. Bristol and the Attorney-General and the impeached bishops had been set at large again after a few days, or at most weeks, of confinement. The remedy for the evil lay not in the substitution of an irresponsible King for an irresponsible Parliament, but partly in the establishment of that responsible ministry which Pym had sketched out; partly, too, in securing that responsibility of Parliament to the nation, through perfect freedom of speech and writing, which Pym did not think of proposing, and which amidst the clash of opposing forces he could hardly, even if he had thought of it, have ventured to propose.

In the beginning of August bad news poured in from all sides to Westminster. Goring had discovered that he had no place in Puritan society, and sought reconciliation with the King, whom he had betrayed in 1641, by betraying Parliament in 1642. He now held the important fortress of Portsmouth for the King. In Warwickshire the Earl of Northampton was strong enough to stop some guns sent by Parliament to Lord Brooke for the defence of Warwick Castle. Hertford, appointed by the King to command in the West, had put himself at the head of a force raised by some of the gentry of Somerset. The Royalists were in high spirits. They reported that the Parliamentary army was weaker than it appeared, and that when it came to fighting many of the newly levied soldiers would desert rather than stand up against the King.

Goring seizes Portsmouth for the King.

Northampton in Warwickshire.

Aug. 3. Hertford in Somersetshire.

Better news reached Westminster ere long. In Shrewsbury the Parliamentary party had gained the upper hand. In Somerset the yeomen and manufacturers bore no good-will

towards the gentry. Under the guidance of the Puritan gentlemen of the county, they mustered in such numbers as to make Hertford's position at Wells hopeless, though he was allowed to withdraw unmolested to Sherborne where he took up his quarters with about 900 men.[1]

On August 9 the King proclaimed Essex and his officers traitors, though he offered a free pardon to all who should within six days throw down their arms. The Commons retaliated by calling upon every one of their members to swear that they would live and die with Essex. On the 12th the Lords pronounced sentence on Gurney, directing him to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House, and depriving him of the mayoralty which had enabled him to do good service for the King. The Royalist Recorder, Sir Thomas Gardiner, had been already impeached.

Aug. 9. The Commons swear to live and die with Essex.

Civil war was thus virtually begun. One unlucky member, when called on to take the oath to live and die with Essex, asked for a little time to consider his answer. He was told that it must be given at once. Plucking up courage, he refused to give the promise, but was so soundly rated by the Speaker, that he offered in his fright to answer with an Aye. He was told that his Aye would not be accepted now. Warned by the example, the few Royalist members who were still left in the House gave the promise required.[2] On the 18th a declaration was issued by the Houses denouncing as traitors all who gave assistance to the King.[3]

Aug. 18. Those who assist the King declared traitors.

Every effort was made on the part of the Parliamentary leaders to carry on the war with energy. Directions had already been given to lay siege to Goring in Portsmouth, and to Hertford in Sherborne. Brooke had established himself in Warwick Castle, and had beaten off

Action of the Parliamentarians.

[1] *L. J.* v. 278. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 159. *Claren don*, vi. 3. Giustinian to the Doge, $\frac{\text{July } 29}{\text{Aug. } 8}$, Aug. $\frac{5}{15}$, *Venice Transcripts*, *R. O.* A broadside gives the numbers of the men who appeared against Hertford as 15,000. A. Prowse to ——, Aug. 8 (669, fol. 6).

[2] *Rushworth*, iv. 780. D'Ewes's Diary, *Harl. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 261 b.

[3] *L. J.* v. 303.

Northampton. Hampden caught Lord Berkshire as he was preparing to execute the commission of array in Oxfordshire. Berkshire protested his innocence, and assured Hampden that he had done nothing. Hampden replied that he had been sent to prevent him from doing anything, and despatched him a prisoner to London. Cromwell did even better service by seizing the college plate as it was being sent away from Cambridge to enrich the royal army-chest.[1]

That the King must take the field had been for some time resolved at York. The Royal Standard must be set up as the sign that all loyal subjects were to rally round their King in his march against the traitors; but Charles's means were scanty, and as yet his troops were few. There was much discussion what place should be chosen for the display. Lord Strange begged the King to take refuge in Lancashire. In that county, he said, his tenants and allies would soon enable him to support his master with a force of 10,000 men.[2] Others suggested York. The King's sanguine temperament gave the preference to Nottingham, though he had received but a cold reception in that town on two previous visits. He wished to open the campaign as near to London as possible, and he still hoped to hear that Hertford had made himself master of the western counties, and had been able to hold out a helping hand to Goring. On the 12th he issued a proclamation inviting his loyal subjects to rally round the Standard, which was to be set up on the 22nd at Nottingham.[3]

Aug 12. The Royal standard to be set up.

Charles was still unable to divest himself of the belief that his mere presence would turn all hearts towards him. On the 20th he appeared before the walls of Coventry and demanded admission. He was told that he might come in alone if he chose, but that he must not bring his soldiers with him. While he was attempting to force an entrance a sally from the town drove off his men, and some of his

Aug. 20. Charles summons Coventry.

[1] Mountefort to Potts, Aug. Crane to Potts, Aug. 19 (incorrectly catalogued as Aug. 9). *Tanner MSS.* lxiii. fol. 116, 125. *L. J.* v. 307.

[2] *Memoirs of the House of Stanley*, 72.

[3] *Clarendon*, v. 444. Proclamation, Aug. 12. Bailey's *Annals of Nottinghamshire*, Appx vii.

followers were killed.[1] On the morning of the 22nd, leaving his troops behind him, he rode off for Nottingham. When he reached Nottingham in the afternoon, the Standard was borne out from the Castle. It had been entrusted to the charge of the Knight-Marshal, Sir Edmund Verney.[2] With the King were the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the fiery Rupert, who, with his brother, had lately landed in England, to devote himself heart and soul to his uncle's service.

Aug. 22.

Even at this solemn moment Charles gave signs of that infirmity of purpose which weighed so heavily upon him. The Standard had been fixed in the ground, and the herald at

[1] Giustinian to the Doge, Aug. 26, *Venice Transcripts*, *R. O.*

[2] "The King," writes Verney's niece on the 23rd of her uncle, "hath given him the Standard." Dorothy Leeke to Sir R. Verney, Aug. 23, *Verney MSS.* This, and the letter from a gentleman printed by *Bailey*, 663, settles the question of the date of the erection of the Standard. Bailey—whose copy contains a serious misprint of "I came on Wednesday night last to Nottingham," instead of "I came on Wednesday night last from the Court at Nottingham," as it stands in the original (669)—with some reason conjectures the author to have been John Hutchinson. At all events he was an eye-witness. Rushworth's description is copied from a pamphlet of the time, *A true and exact relation of the manner of His Majesty's setting up of the Standard at Nottingham, on Wednesday, the 22nd of August.* So at least the title stands in Bailey's reprint (665). Wednesday is no doubt a misprint, as the pamphlet itself states Monday, the 22nd, to have been the day. The curious thing is that the description of the Standard is entirely different in the pamphlet and in the letter. The only way of reconciling the two accounts is to suppose that the narrative in the pamphlet was made up in London from various sources of local information. The Standard which Verney carried at Edgehill must have been a different one from that which required twenty supporters, and the informant of the author of the pamphlet perhaps described this smaller banner. Clarendon's story of the Standard being blown down in the night after it was set up has been, of late, rejected as inconsistent with the narrative in Rushworth. After all, however, it appears to have been true, though Clarendon antedated the story for the sake of effect. In *Special Passages* (E. 115, 21) we are told that 'the Standard was this week blown down at Nottingham, and a flag set up.' Thomason's date for this pamphlet is Sept. 6; so that the Standard must have been up for more than a week before it was blown down.

arms was about to read a proclamation denouncing Essex as a traitor. A flourish of trumpets was to prelude this announcement. Before a note was sounded, Charles was struck with a suspicion that the wording of the proclamation might be in some respects defective. Calling for the paper, he corrected its phraseology.[1] The herald to whom it was returned had some difficulty in picking out the words so hastily inserted. When he had struggled hesitatingly to the end, those who stood around threw their hats into the air, shouting loudly, "God save King Charles and hang up the Roundheads," in a tempest of loyal emotion. The Civil War, which had been practically begun when Hotham shut the gates of Hull against the King, was now openly avowed. England was about to learn through suffering that wisdom which was to be found in neither of the opposing ranks.

The King corrects his proclamation.

[1] Readers of the despatches amongst the Foreign State Papers will be familiar with Charles's numerous verbal corrections, showing his sensitiveness in point of style.

APPENDIX.

I.

Financial Tables.

It is, I fear, altogether impossible to obtain a complete account of the revenue due, and the expenditure incurred in each year. The amounts of revenue received and of payments actually made can easily be calculated; but they would serve no useful purpose, as a great part of them would consist in the former case of anticipated revenue of future years, and in the latter case of arrears due in former years. I am, however, able to give an analysis of the estimated revenue and expenditure for several years, which will give at least an idea of the financial situation. Besides the expenditure thus given there was always an extraordinary expenditure going on. Something, too, must be allowed for the variety of opinion in the estimators. Of the considerable increase shown in the year 1635, for instance, no less than 50,000*l.* is a mere matter of account, 20,000*l.* for interest being inserted, which had been taken as extraordinary expenditure in former years, and 30,330*l.* in the Cofferers' Account being balanced by the composition for purveyance entered for the first time as revenue, and not appearing before. A considerable number of the heads, as given in the MSS., have been put together in Tables, to make comparison easy.

1. *Comparative view of the estimated ordinary Revenue of the Crown.*

	1610.[1]	1614.[2]	1619.[3]	1623.[4]	1635.[5]
	£	£	£	£	£
Customs and Impositions .	247,810	242,788	284,900	323,042	328,126
Land and Feudal Revenue .	144,154	130,474	157,744	170,608	192,340
Tenths and first-fruits of Clergy	16,000	16,000	18,072	18,137	19,359
Star Chamber fines . .	...	1,000	1,400	1,400	3,964
Recusancy fines . . .	9,000	6,000	6,300	5,000	13,408
Miscellaneous . . .	44,561	25,634	19,568	21,716	30,852
Composition for purveyance	...	...	...	...	30,330
	461,525	421,896	487,984	539,903	618,379

2. *Comparative view of the estimated ordinary Expenditure of the Crown.*

	1610.[6]	1614.[7]	1619.[8]	1623.[9]	1635.[10]
	£	£	£	£	£
Personal and Court . .	186,756	179,540	140,799	154,929	214,159
Queen	14,223	24,500	...	...	32,594
Royal Family . . .	32,250	26,000	53,117	56,427	15,833
Queen of Bohemia and Family	...	...	...	...	19,150
Navy	40,000	50,000	29,268	29,703	41,570
Forts, ordnance, and gunpowder	21,033	14,960	23,740	23,655	20,537
Ireland	52,584	46,000	20,000	20,000	...
Garrisons in the Low Countries	25,015	25,016	...	...	...
Judicial expenses and prisons	15,056	20,144	13,095	9,697	9,176
Ambassadors . . .	7,200	12,000	12,000	15,333	20,200
Fees and annuities . .	94,192	104,860	103,213	116,527	178,038
Miscellaneous . . .	29,238	19,920	47,128	63,870	65,279
Interest of money . .	...	...	...	...	20,000
	517,547	522,940	442,360	490,141	636,536

[1] See *Lansd. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 505.
[2] *Ibid.* clxix. fol. 135.
[3] See *S. P. Dom. James I.* cx. 35.
[4] *Ibid.* clviii. 59.
[5] See *S. P. Dom. Charles I.* cccxiv. 84.
[6] See *Lansd. MSS.* clxiv. fol. 507.
[7] *Ibid.* clxix. fol. 135.
[8] See *S. P. Dom. James I.* cx. 35.
[9] *Ibid.* clviii. 59.
[10] See *S. P. Dom. Charles I.* cccxiv. 84.

3. *The King's Debts, July* 30, 1635.

Anticipations	370,000
Surplusages of accounts	100,000
Jewels in pawn	40,000
Navy	48,000
Wardrobe	83,655
Several persons	160,000
Ambassadors	32,000
Captains of castles and garrisons	22,000
Household	50,000
Posts	34,000
Ordnance	17,543
Robes	8,500
Captain Mason for colonels and captains	8,500
Arrears for fees, &c.	199,000
	£1,173,198[1]

4. *Extraordinary Payments from the accession of Charles I. to Easter*, 1635.

	£
Year ending Easter, 1626	364,426
,, 1627	469,391
,, 1628	585,448
,, 1629	407,006
,, 1630	301,067
,, 1631	217,356
,, 1632	198,296
,, 1633	114,663
,, 1634	123,503
,, 1635	66,441
	£2,847,597

[1] In the MS. this is wrongly added up 1,163,655*l.* A debt owed to the Earl of Holland (fol. 34), for which he claimed 17,192*l.*, is not included as being under dispute.

II.

Cases of Ministers suspended or deprived by the Court of High Commission, February 18, 1634, *to May* 19, 1636.

It has been so often said that the High Commission deprived ministers in large numbers, that I have thought it worth while to draw up a list of all cases of deprivation or suspension during the period of two years and three months, for which the Act Books have been preserved (*State Papers Domestic*, cclxi., cccxxiii.). It should be remembered that these years begin very shortly after Laud's accession to the archbishopric, and they are therefore exactly the years in which the action of the Court would be likely to be most vigorous. The names in capitals are those of persons in respect of whom the sentence was wholly remitted. Those in italics are those of persons who subsequently, before May 19, 1636, received permission to continue the exercise of their ministry anywhere but in the cure held by them at the time of their deprivation or suspension.

1. *Deposed from the Ministry.*

1634. Mar. 3. Reginald Carew, for attempt to commit a rape.
June 26. Theophilus Brabourne, for promulgating the opinion that Saturday should be observed as the Sabbath.

2. *Deprived of Benefice and suspended from the Ministry.*

1634. Oct. 9. *Anthony Lapthorne*, for omitting large parts of the service, and reviling his parishioners and the neighbouring clergy.
June 4. Richard Murray, for acting as warden of a collegiate church without taking the prescribed oath, and for dilapidating the property entrusted to his charge.
Nov. 20. Edmund Lyneold,[1] for refusal to conform.
1635. Nov. 2. *Stephen Dennison*, for personal abuse of his parishioners.

[1] He was at first deprived of his benefice, but the sentence was changed to suspension on his expression of readiness to confer with his bishop. The result must have appeared in the succeeding volume, which has been lost.

3. *Suspended from the exercise of the Ministry.*

1634. Nov. 4. John How, for praying that the Prince 'might not be brought up in Popery, whereof there is great cause to fear.'

Nov. 6. *Francis Abbott*, making a disturbance in church, and reviling his parishioners and the neighbouring clergy.

1635. Feb. 5. George Burdett, for preaching against the ceremonies, and refusing to bend the knee at the name of Jesus, &c.

Feb. 19. Edward Prowse, for obtaining a presentation on false pretences.

Apr. 25. John Workman, for preaching against dancing, declaring it to be idolatrous to possess a picture of the Saviour, &c.

Nov. 12. William Frost, for drunkenness.

Nov. 26. Samuel Ward, for attacks on the ceremonies and discipline of the Church.

Nov. 26. CHARLES CHAUNCEY, for agitating against the removal of the communion-table in a parish not his own.

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and the States-General, 108; resolves to bring the imprisoned members of Parliament before the King's Bench instead of the Star Chamber, 109; proposes to the judges the terms on which bail is to be offered to the imprisoned members, *ib.*; wishes Sir John Walter to retire from the Bench, 112; suspends Walter, 113; gives his confidence to Laud, 127; orders Bishop Howson to proceed no further against Cosin, 130; sends instructions to the Bishops, 131; enforces his Declaration on Religion impartially, 132; protests against the doctrines of Dudley's paper of advice, 140; revives the knighthood fines, 167; has no European policy beyond a wish to recover the Palatinate, 169; receives Coloma at Whitehall, 170; is dissatisfied at the refusal of Olivares to engage to restore the Palatinate, and knights Rubens, 171; draws back from his demand that Spain shall give up the fortresses in the Palatinate, 172; proposes to Spain a league against the Dutch, *ib.*; sends Anstruther to Ratisbon, and Vane back to the Hague, 173; distrusts Richelieu, *ib.*; tries to stand well with all Continental parties, 174; hears that a treaty has been signed at Madrid between himself and Spain, 175; speaks coldly of the peace with Spain, 177; sends Anstruther to Vienna and talks of assisting Gustavus, 178; disbelieves a rumour that Hamilton is meditating treason, 182; insists on Hamilton's sleeping in his bedchamber, and allows him to raise men in England, 183; does not countenance the schemes of his mother-in-law, 185; refuses to abandon Weston, 186; refuses permission to Mary de Medicis to visit England, 187; opens negotiations with Gustavus, 188; offers to join Spain and the Emperor, 190; cannot make up his mind whether to help Gustavus or not, 191; cruel treatment of Eliot by, 193; refuses to summon Parliament to ask for money for Gustavus, *ib.*; opens fresh negotiations with Gustavus, 194; rejects the terms offered by Gustavus, and makes counter-propositions, 196; orders Wake to propose to Louis a joint action in Germany, 197; receives St. Chaumont coldly, 199; allusions of Massinger to, 201; on the rejection of his terms by Gustavus recalls Vane and Anstruther, 205; hopes that Frederick will take the place of Gustavus, 207; the nobles of the Spanish Netherlands ask for the support of, 210; expects to have a part of Flanders ceded to him by Spain, 211; instructs Boswell to be present at the conferences between the States-General of the Spanish and those of the independent Netherlands, 212; learns that Spain will not cede to him territory in Flanders, 213; assures Louis that he will concur in the liberation of the obedient Netherlands, 214; offers assistance to Oxenstjerna, 215; offers to join France in the war in Germany, 216; professes to abide by the constitution, 221; refuses to allow Eliot to leave the Tower, 226; orders that Eliot shall be buried in the Tower, 227; visits St. Paul's and appoints commissioners to collect money for its repair, 245; enforces his Declaration on religion at Oxford, 248; orders that the window broken by Sherfield shall be replaced with white glass, 257; issues an Act of Revocation in Scotland, 277; offers compensation to the tithe-owners, and partially suspends the Articles of Perth, 278; arranges a commutation of tithes in Scotland, 279; alienates the Scottish nobility, 280; is crowned King of Scotland, 281; orders the Prayer-book of the Scottish bishops to be submitted to Laud, 282; approves of Laud's advice to introduce the English Prayer-book into Scotland, 283; takes down the names of voters in the Scottish Parliament, 289; directs the Scottish bishops to draw up a new Prayer-book, and returns to England after being nearly drowned at Burntisland, 290; directs the Scottish clergy to appear in white, 291; is shown the supplication of the Lords of the Opposition, 294; orders proceedings to be taken against Balmerino, 295; pardons Balmerino, 296; takes Hamilton for his adviser on Scottish affairs, 297; promotes Scottish bishops to places of authority, 298; appoints Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, 299; directs Laud to place restrictions on ordination, 303; and to bring lecturers and chaplains to order, 304; supports Laud's objection to power being given to laymen to appoint or dismiss ministers, 305; interferes to enforce order in Paul's Walk, 308; removes the suit about the position of the communion-table at St. Gregory's to the Privy Council, 310; announces his decision, 311; forbids Richardson to put any obstacle in the way of the Somerset wakes, 320; orders the republication of the *Declaration of Sports*, 321; orders it to be read in churches, 322; spares the lives of the Lancashire witches, 325; suggests the plot of Shirley's *Gamester*, 331; sends Jermyn to prison and pardons him at the Queen's request, 339; neglects the League of Heilbronn, and consents to Nethersole's proposal to raise a benevolence, 343, withdraws his consent, *ib.*; gives instructions to Gerbier with regard to the proposed revolution in the Netherlands, 345; is betrayed by Gerbier, 346; is courted by France and Spain, 348; proposes to send Charles Lewis with an army to the Palatinate, but subsequently treats with Necolalde, and proposes to send Charles Lewis to join Feria, 349; makes offers to Spain, 351; unreality of the schemes of, 352; urges

the League of Heilbronn to make peace, 354; maintains Portland against Laud and Coventry, 356; resolves to levy ship-money, 357; orders the seizure of Coke's papers, 359; is pleased with Holland's extension of the Forest of Dean, 364; legal character of the absolutism of, 365; is angry with the Dutch on hearing that they wish the French to join in an attack on Dunkirk, 366; rejects overtures made to him by France, and orders the preparation of a treaty with Spain, 367; proposes to arm a fleet to carry out the treaty for partitioning the Netherlands, 368; issues the first writ of ship-money, 369; continues to hope to recover the Palatinate, 372; urges Elizabeth to rely on his diplomacy, 373; is his own foreign minister, 379; orders Hopton to conclude a treaty at Madrid, 380; names commissioners to treat with Seneterre and Pougny, but orders them to spin out time, 381; obtains a copy of the treaty between France and the States-General for the partition of the Spanish Netherlands, and orders attention to be paid to the musters, 382; is anxious that his agreement with Spain should not be committed to writing, 383; issues instructions to Lindsey, *ib.*; receives no money from the Spaniards, 384; rejects Richelieu's compromise about saluting his flag, 386; is left without allies, 387; sends to Ireland the first draft of the Graces, viii. 13; orders a committee to be appointed to investigate the case of the Byrnes, 23; relations of Wentworth with, 37; promotes Lorenzo Cary against Wentworth's wish, 38; orders the dissolution of the Irish Parliament, 52; wishes to give to the Queen a part of the fine imposed by the Star Chamber on the City of London, 60; rejects the French overtures about the Palatinate, 83; remits Southampton's fine, and issues a commission to take compositions for encroachments on the forests, 86; orders a wall to be built round Richmond Park, 87; disapproves of Laud's resistance to his plan, 88; Laud's complaint of the selfishness prevailing in the Court of, 89; refuses to punish Bagg, 91; consults the judges on the legality of ship-money, 94; legal and political view of his claim to levy ship-money, 95; offers to ally himself with the Emperor, and proposes an exchange of Lorraine for the Palatinate, 97; insists that the French ambassadors shall give the title of Electoral Highness to his nephew, 99; is gratified by Necolalde's use of the title, and rejects the French proposals, 100; resolves to send Arundel to Vienna, 102; enforces the payment of ship-money, *ib.*; refuses to excuse the children born in England of foreign parents from using the English Prayer-book, 121; appoints Windebank to receive Panzani, 133;

authorises Windebank to treat on the reunion of the churches, and selects an agent to reside at Rome in the Queen's name, 138; behaves reverently in the Queen's chapel, 139; draws back from Panzani, 140; makes Juxon Treasurer, 141; orders Laud to take proceedings against Lady Purbeck, 145; refuses to allow Lady Purbeck to return to England, 146; proposes to visit Oxford, 148; visits Oxford, 150; want of enthusiasm in the streets during the visit of, 153; orders copies of Selden's *Mare Clausum* to be officially preserved, 154; sends out the second ship money fleet, 156; draws up Arundel's instructions, 158; refuses Arundel's request to be recalled, 160; orders Leicester to make overtures to Louis, 161; sends Windebank for a short time to prison, and carries on negotiations with France in a hesitating way, 162; recalls Arundel, 163; continues vacillating, *ib.*; theory on which his government rests, 182; does not fulfil Wentworth's expectations, 183; approves Wentworth's defence of his government of Ireland, 197; is displeased at Danby's protest against ship-money, 201; shrinks from summoning Parliament, and from going to war, 202; declares that he will take up his nephew's cause against the House of Austria, 203; proposes to lend ships to his nephew, 204; terms offered by Richelieu to, *ib.*; consults the judges on the legality of ship-money, 206; accepts Richelieu's terms and prepares to send his nephew to sea, 210; applies to Wentworth for advice on the proposed alliance with France, 211; is disappointed of the French alliance, and turns to Spain, 217; attempts to persuade the Dutch fishermen to take licences, 218; directs Gerbier to obtain the support of the Cardinal Infant, 219; orders an attempt to be made to distribute licences to the Dutch fishermen, 220; nature of the government of, 221; does not share in Laud's wish for the execution of the laws against the Catholics, 235; his friendly intercourse with Con, 236; declares his intention of providing a remedy against the Catholic conversions, 239; struggle between Laud and the Queen for influence over, 240; modifies his proclamation against the Catholics, 241; thinks of pardoning Williams, 252; leaves Williams to the Star Chamber, 253; wishes Con to procure the banishment of Knott, 261; hastens on the publication of *The Religion of Protestants*, 262; is ready to have the legality of ship-money argued in open court, 271; on the decision of the judges in his favour, acts as if there could no longer be any doubt as to his right to ship-money, 280; levies compositions for forest fines, 282; establishes new corporations, 283; is in-

terested in material improvements, 292; offers to take the drainage of the Great Level into his own hands, 296; undertakes the work, 298; isolation of, 299; underestimates his difficulties, 300; his ignorance of the Scots, 304; directs the Scottish bishops to prepare a Prayer-book and Canons, 307; issues canons for the Scottish Church, 309; orders the adoption of the new Prayer-book, 312; orders the Scottish Privy Council to suppress disturbances, 317; finds himself unsupported by the Council, 319; orders the Council to postpone the enforcement of the use of the Prayer-book, but to take repressive measures, and to remove itself and the Court of Session from Edinburgh, 321; issues a proclamation declaring that he does not intend to break the laws of Scotland, and sends for Traquair, 326; issues a proclamation in defence of the Prayer-book, 327; postpones a decision on the affairs of Scotland, 335; appoints Northumberland Lord Admiral, 338; sends Hamilton to negotiate with the Scots, 339; gives Hamilton two alternative declarations, 342; instructs Hamilton to spin out his negotiations, 343; prepares for war, 344; refuses to accept the Covenant, 345; consults the English Council on the affairs of Scotland, 349; orders the formation of a committee for Scottish affairs, and finds that he has no money for carrying on a war, 350; authorises an Assembly and Parliament in Scotland, 360; offers a Covenant of his own, 361; abandons the Scottish Prayer-book, Canons, and High Commission, and issues his Covenant in a revised form, 363; summons an Assembly and Parliament to meet, *ib.*; objects to the claim of the Assembly to a Divine right, 366; informs Hamilton that he is preparing for war, 368; is driven into war with Scotland, 374; foreign relations of, 375; sends money to his nephew, 376; orders Gerbier to carry on a secret negotiation with the Princess of Pfalzburg, 377; protests against a statement of Cardenas, *ib.*; remonstrates with Mary de Medicis on her proposed visit to England, 379; receives Mary de Medicis, 380; is displeased at Bernhard's success, 381; is inclined to negotiate with the Scots, 382; prepares for war, 383; orders an army to be raised, 384; numbers of the army of, 385; asks for a loan of Spanish soldiers, 386; repeats his request to the Cardinal Infant, 387; orders the publication of Laud's *Conference with Fisher*, and issues a proclamation accusing the Scots of wishing to plunder England, 390; his plan of campaign, ix. 1; loses the fortresses in Scotland, 2; arrives at York and recalls some of the monopolies, 6; demands a general contribution, 7; treachery suspected in the ministers of, *ib.*; advice given by Wentworth to, 8; draws up a proclamation offering land at low rents to the loyal tenants of rebels, 9; advances to Durham, 13; sends Aboyne to the Forth, 15; issues a fresh proclamation offering not to invade Scotland, 16; orders Hamilton to negotiate and sends for reinforcements, 17; poor quality of the army of, 18; resolves to advance to Berwick, and writes to Hamilton to be ready to join him at a moment's notice, *ib.*; receives an answer to his proclamation, 21; arrives at Berwick and encamps at the Birks, 22; sends Arundel to read his proclamation at Dunse, 23; intends to take the aggressive, but is in difficulty for money, 24; demands a loan from the City, 26; despondency in the camp of, 29; summons Hamilton to Berwick, and acknowledges that Englishmen will not take his part against the Scots, *ib.*; witnesses the arrival of Leslie's army at Dunse Law, 30; begs Wentworth to send a large force to Scotland, 33; cannot keep his army together, 35; receives overtures from the Scots, 36; takes part in the negotiation for peace, 38; dialectical skill of, *ib.*; presses the City to lend money, 39; accepts the Treaty of Berwick, 40; disagrees with the Covenanters on the mode of providing pay for a force to be sent to aid his nephew, 42; difficulties in the way of the re-establishment of his authority in Scotland, 43; summons bishops to the Assembly of Edinburgh, 44; believes his conversation to be misrepresented in Scotland, 45; abandons the intention of visiting Edinburgh, and has an altercation with the leaders of the Covenanters, 46; gives instructions to Traquair and returns to Whitehall, 47; orders the Scottish report of his conversations at Berwick to be burnt, and directs the bishops to protest against the legality of the Assembly, 48; his plan for the reconstitution of the Lords of the Articles, 51; refuses to rescind the Acts in favour of episcopacy, 52; objects to the constitutional and legislative changes voted in the Scottish Parliament, 54; distributes honours amongst his supporters in Scotland, 55; hopes that Bernhard of Weimar will aid in the recovery of the Palatinate for his nephew, 56; again seeks help from Spain, 57; orders Pennington to prevent Tromp from searching English vessels, 58; offers to protect Oquendo's fleet, 59; offers terms to the Spaniards, 61; sends contradictory directions to Pennington, 62; makes offers to Richelieu, 63; expects that Charles Lewis will obtain the command of Bernhard's army, 64; orders Pennington to protect Oquendo, 65; advises Oquendo to prepare for the worst, 66; is angry at the Dutch victory in the Downs, 68; is displeased at his nephew's

imprisonment, 70; allows the prosecution of Lord Loftus of Ely, 72; takes Wentworth as his chief counsellor, 73; sends Loudoun and Dunfermline back to Scotland, and orders the prorogation of the Scottish Parliament, 74; announces his intention of summoning a Parliament in England, 77; suspicions felt of his intentions to overawe the Short Parliament, 78; refuses to appoint Leicester Secretary, 86; appoints Vane Secretary, 87; refuses to give his eldest daughter to the son of the Prince of Orange, but offers his second daughter, 89; instructs Hopton on the language to be held by him on the fight in the Downs, 90; believes Richelieu to be the cause of his Scottish troubles, *ib.*; obtains the letter written by the Covenanters to the King of France, 92; discusses his powers with the Scottish Commissioners, 93; gives them reason to think that he does not intend to allow the abolition of episcopacy, 94; sends to Louis a copy of the letter of the Scots, which he considers to be treasonable, and imprisons the Scottish Commissioners, 97; orders the letter of the Scots to be read to the Short Parliament, 98; summons the Houses before him and orders Finch to explain that he is ready to give up ship-money if a fleet be supported in another way, 107; appeals to the Lords against the Commons, 108; gives his full support to Strafford, 110; agrees that the ship-money judgment may be reversed in the House of Lords, and declares that he will be content with eight subsidies, 113; dissolves the Short Parliament, 117; consults the Committee of Eight on the best mode of carrying on war against the Scots, 120; is estranged from the nation, 128; issues a declaration explaining the dissolution of the Short Parliament, and imprisons members of Parliament, 129; threatens the Lord Mayor and imprisons four aldermen, 130; is disappointed by the silence of the Spanish ambassadors on the subject of a proposal of marriage, 131; hesitates to persist in measures of repression, 132; calls out the trained bands of the counties round London, and tries to regain popularity, 135; abandons Strafford's policy of enforcing obedience, 136; visits Strafford when he is ill, 139; persists in the war with Scotland, 140; finds an insulting inscription on a window at Whitehall, 142; orders the continuance of the sittings of Convocation, *ib.*; his deposition canvassed in Scotland, 149; orders the Lord Mayor to distrain for ship-money, 153; thinks first of using force against the City, and then of negotiating with the Scots, 154; attempts to obtain a loan from France and Genoa, 157; want of enthusiasm in the army raised by, 158; places Catholics in military command, 159; issues commissions of array for the army against Scotland, 162; sets Loudoun at liberty, 168; orders the prosecution of the Lord Mayor and sheriffs for neglect in the collection of coat-and-conduct money, 169; orders the seizure of the bullion in the Tower, 170; resolves to debase the coinage, 171; continued irresolution of, 173; is angry with the renewed refusal of the City to lend, and insists on proceeding with the debasement of the coinage, 174; again proposes to negotiate with the Scots, 177; vacillates between a peaceful and a warlike policy, 182; announces his intention of going to York, 187; orders reinforcements to be sent to the army, and ship-money to be collected, 188; raises money on a consignment of pepper, and induces the trained bands of Durham and Yorkshire to support him, 190; asks the Council what is to be done if the Scots march on London, 199; refuses to despair, 200; summons the Great Council, 201; complains of the timidity of the Privy Council, 202; holds a review of the army, 203; receives affably the offer of the Yorkshiremen to pay their trained bands, and makes Strafford a Knight of the Garter, 204; hesitates to call a Parliament, and accepts Hamilton's proposal to betray the counsels of the Scots, 206; receives petitions from London and from the clergy, and opens the Great Council, 207; announces that he intends to summon Parliament, and asks the Great Council to provide means for keeping the army on foot, 208; insists upon retaining power over the castles in Scotland, 209; wishes the negotiation with the Scots to be removed to York, 212; allows the negotiation to be continued at Ripon, 214; gives his consent to the agreement with the Scots, 215; his opinion on his prospects in meeting Parliament, 217; struggle for sovereignty between the Long Parliament and, 218; is prevented by the presence of the Scottish army from dissolving Parliament, 219; accepts Lenthall as Speaker, 220; sends for Strafford, 221; difficulty in trusting, 225; resolution of the Commons not to hold responsible, 226; orders Vane's paper to be burnt, 229; is advised by Strafford to accuse the Parliamentary leaders, 231; reviews the soldiers at the Tower, 232; wishes to be present at the meetings of the English and Scottish Commissioners, 238; refuses to give up the incendiaries to the Scottish Parliament, 242; consents to a marriage between his eldest daughter and Prince William of Orange, and expects the Prince of Orange to assist him in his quarrel with Parliament, 244; declares that he will not allow Parliament to punish his servants, 245; offer of the Commons to provide for the subsistence

of, 250, is reported to have offered liberty of worship to the Catholics if he is successful by the Pope's aid, 252; tells Bristol that he means to resist Parliament, *ib.*; promises the Scots not to employ anyone condemned by their Parliament, 253; wishes to keep the Irish army together for future service, 255; has no feeling against asking for foreign aid, 257; declares that on three points he will not give way, *ib.*; poverty of the Court of, 259; informs the Dutch ambassadors of his wish for a political alliance, 262; announces that the judges are to hold office on good behaviour, and appoints Lyttelton Lord Keeper, 263; appoints St. John Solicitor-General, 264; sends for the Houses on the occasion of the demand of the Commons for Goodman's execution, 265; declares that he will put away all innovations, but will not turn the bishops out of the House of Lords or assent to the Triennial Bill, 267; fails to impart confidence in his sincerity, 268; is asked to put Goodman to death, 269; throws over the Catholics, 272; gains a respite by the compromise in the Commons on the subject of episcopacy, 287; informs the Houses of the completion of the Dutch marriage treaty, 288; is said to intend to dissolve Parliament and liberate Strafford, *ib.*; unites the Commons against him by menacing them with an Irish army, 289; gives the Royal assent to the Triennial Bill, 290; admits seven of the Opposition Lords to the Privy Council, 292; does not throw himself on the Peers' sense of justice, 293; fails to take the right course to save Strafford, 294; takes his seat in the House of Lords to hear the charges against Strafford read, 296; is indignant at the declaration of the Scottish Commissioners against episcopacy in England, 297; is present at Strafford's trial, 303; is anxious to save Strafford, 308; listens to proposals for obtaining a petition from the army, 309; hears of the plot for bringing the army up, 312; wishes Percy and Suckling to confer together, 315; refuses to concur in the project of bringing up the army, 317; injures Strafford by taking no notice of the reiterated request of Parliament for the disbandment of the Irish army, 323; is pleased at the disagreement between the Houses on Strafford's trial, 327; listens to Pym's reply to Strafford's defence, and again refuses to disband the Irish army, 334; assures Strafford that he shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune, 340; sends money to the Northern army, and is believed to intend to put himself at its head, 342; alleged intention of, to take refuge in Portsmouth, then to summon the English and Irish armies to his aid, and to dissolve Parliament, 343; again refuses to disband the Irish army, 344, appears in the House of Lords to beg that some way of saving Strafford's life may be found, 346; authorises the Portuguese ambassadors to levy troops, and sends Billingsley to occupy the Tower, 348; talks of taking refuge with the Northern army, 357; gives Jermyn a licence to pass the sea, 360; offers to receive a deputation from the Houses about his assent to the Bill of Attainder, 363; learns that Goring has betrayed him, 364; takes the opinion of the judges and of some of the bishops, 365; mental conflict of, 366; consents to sign a commission giving the Royal assent to the Bill of Attainder, 367; writes to the Peers, *ib.*; effect of the Bill against the Dissolution of Parliament on, 373: is obliged to make appointments according to the wish of Parliament, 374; proposes to visit Scotland, 375; wishes to win over the leading Scots, 376; hesitates between the advice of Bristol and that of the Queen, 383; negotiation of the Irish Catholics with, 384; makes Digby a peer, 386; does not take interest in any scheme of Church reform, 387; asks Hyde to keep back the Root-and-Branch Bill, 388; tries to throw off the blame of complicity in Montrose's schemes, 398; engages in a second Army Plot, *ib.*; appends his initials to the petition entrusted to Legg, 399; responsible ministers proposed to, 401; consents to the disbandment of the Northern army, and the dismissal of Rossetti, 402; his last interview with Rossetti, 403; gives his assent to the abolition of the Star Chamber and of the High Commission, 404; issues a manifesto about the Palatinate, declares that he knows of no evil counsellors, and resolves to go to Scotland, 405; appoints Essex Lord Chamberlain, and listens to the advice of Williams, 409; his reasons for wishing to go to Scotland, 410; announces his intention of going to Scotland, 413; recommends the Lords not to oppose the Commons till he returns from Scotland, 414; is requested to remain in England, *ib.*; passes a Bill declaring ship-money illegal, and another limiting his forest claims, 415; consents to delay his journey for one day, and promotes Bristol and his partisans, 416; passes a Bill for confirming the treaty with the Scots, and another declaring knighthood-fines illegal, 417; sets out for Scotland, *ib.*; vacillates between two policies, 418; leaves England without a Government, x. 3; passes through the two armies, and enters Edinburgh, 5; ratifies the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, and tries to win over the Scots, 6; negotiates with the Irish Catholics, 7; advice of Nicholas to, 8; symptoms of a reaction in favour of, *ib.*; is unable, in his absence, to take advantage of the change of feeling, 9; is feasted in the Parliament House at Edinburgh,

18; is asked to appoint to offices in Scotland with consent of Parliament, 10; is mortified at finding that his proposals are objected to, 20; two letters of Montrose to, 22; is displeased with Hamilton, *ib.*; receives a third letter from Montrose, which he resolves to lay before some of the Lords, 23; vindicates himself from complicity with the Incident, 25; asks that the inquiry may be openly conducted, 26; is defeated, 27; attempts to gain a party in England, and to obtain evidence of the part taken by the Parliamentary leaders in bringing the Scots into England, 28; writes to Nicholas to give assurance of his constancy to the discipline and doctrine of the Church, 39; appoints new bishops, 41; offers religious liberty to the Irish Catholics, 46; asks the Scottish Parliament to assist in reducing the Irish Rebellion, 55; evidence of his part in the second Army Plot brought before the Commons, 73; prepares to return to England, 80; intentions formed by, 81; popularity needed by, 82; the wealthy citizens of London on the side of, 83; enters the City, and announces that he will defend the Protestant religion as established in the times of Elizabeth and his father, 84; is feasted at Guildhall, 85; dismisses the Parliamentary guard, 86; receives the Grand Remonstrance, 88; takes up a position of resistance, 89; his commission alleged to be given to Phelim O'Neill, 92; appoints Nicholas Secretary, and Lennox High Steward, and dismisses Vane, 94; directs the Lord Mayor to keep order in the City, 97; issues a proclamation commanding obedience to the laws in favour of the true religion, 98; names a commission to bring his expenditure within the limits of his income, and summons absent members of the Commons to return to their duties, 99; declares his readiness to assent to the Impressment Bill if a clause saving the rights of himself and his subjects is inserted, *ib.*; refuses to execute priests, 100; hesitates to proceed against the Parliamentary leaders, 107; appoints Lunsford to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, 108; answers the Grand Remonstrance, *ib.*; dismisses Newport from the Constableship of the Tower, 111; dismisses Lunsford, and appoints Byron to the Lieutenancy, 112; alleged overtures to the rebels in Ireland from, *ib.*; scheme proposed by the Irish Catholics to, 113; proposes to send volunteers to Ireland, and invites to dinner the officers who had chased the apprentices out of Westminster Hall, 120; orders a guard to be posted at Whitehall Gate, 122; takes the protest of the bishops from Williams, and orders it to be laid before the Lords, *ib.*; offers Pym the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but changes his mind, and gives it to Culpepper, making Falkland Secretary of State, 127; hears that the Parliamentary leaders mean to impeach the Queen, 128; resolves to secure the five members, 129; orders the Attorney-General to impeach them and Mandeville, 130; refuses a guard to the Commons except under his own authority, 131; orders the studies of Pym, Holles, and Hampden to be sealed up, 132; alienates the House of Lords by demanding the arrest of the accused members, *ib.*; takes counsel at night, 133; makes preparations to arrest the members in person, 134; his intention betrayed, 135; delays to act, 136; sets out from Whitehall, 137; orders his followers to remain outside the House of Commons, 138; enters the House, and asks for the five members, 139; declares that 'the birds are flown,' 140; withdraws from the House, 141; seeks the members in the City, 142; issues a proclamation for the arrest of the members, 143; orders Mandeville and the five members to be proclaimed traitors, and replies angrily to a petition from the City in their favour, 147; alienation of the City from, 148; is anxious for the Queen's safety, 149; leaves Whitehall, 150; hopes to secure Portsmouth and Hull, 152; wishes Danish soldiers to land at Hull, 153; goes to Windsor, and announces that he will have the five members tried in another way, 155; takes measures to secure Portsmouth, 156; converses with Heenvliet, 157; expects the Prince of Orange to help him, 158; on his failure to secure Hull, sends a conciliatory message to the Houses, 159; returns an evasive answer to the demand of the Commons for the fortresses and militia, 161; learns that the Lords have joined the Commons, and that the Prince of Orange refuses to help him, 163; returns a more satisfactory answer about the militia, 164; places Conyers in charge of the Tower, and gives his assent to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, 165; assents to the Bill for pressing, 166; takes leave of the Queen, and sends for the Prince of Wales, 168; accepts Hyde as his counsellor, 169; intends to go to the North, 170; refuses to remain near Westminster, 171; absolutely refuses to give up the militia, 172; assures the Houses that he alone can settle the affairs of Ireland, 179; gives his consent to the scheme for confiscating lands in Ireland, 173; rumoured intention to use military force, 177; his reception at York, 178; sends for Essex and Holland, 179; fails to secure support, *ib.*; a party of gentlemen leave London to join, 184; forbids the appointment of Warwick as commander of the fleet, and assures the Yorkshire petitioners that he only wants Parliament to be reasonable, 185; proposes to go with troops to Ireland, 186; calls upon Parliament to obey the law, and

quotes Pym, 189; is requested by Parliament not to go to Ireland, 190; resolves to demand entry into Hull, 191; is refused admission into Hull, 192; proclaims Sir J. Hotham a traitor, 193; prohibits the levy of the trained bands in Yorkshire without orders from himself, *ib.*; sends to Scotland for aid, 194; appeals to the gentry of Yorkshire, 195; orders the removal of the Law Courts, and surrounds himself with a guard, 196; summons a meeting on Heyworth Moor, 199; issues commissions of array, 202; appeals to the Scottish Council, and abandons his plan of a visit to Ireland, 203; declares that he takes arms in defence only, and sends Hastings into Leicestershire, 205; obtains possession of Newcastle, 206; offers made to levy horse for, *ib.*; receives money from Worcester and his son, 207; dismisses Northumberland, and places Pennington in command of the fleet, 208; the Houses consider themselves at war with, 209; the Commons declare that war has been begun by, 211; goes to Beverley in the hope that Hotham will betray Hull, 212; goes to Lincoln, *ib.*; answers sternly a petition for accommodation, 213; is driven back from Hull, and arrives at Leicester, 214; movements in favour of, 216; summons Coventry, 218; sets up the Royal Standard at Nottingham, 219

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the Commons, and dissolves Parliament, 267; falls into the New River, *ib.*; defends his conduct in dissolving Parliament, 268; consents to Gondomar's plan for breaking the blockade of the Flemish ports, 272; instructs Digby to propose to Spain a joint attack on the Netherlands, 273; orders Oxford to seize two Dutch ships, 274; imprisons the Earl of Oxford, 275; turns Wray out of the bedchamber, 276; takes part in the conferences with Fisher, 280; welcomes De Dominis, 284; becomes dissatisfied with him, 285; is angry at the proposal of De Dominis to return to Rome, 286; sends Doncaster to mediate between Louis XIII. and the Protestants, 291; sends Doncaster again to France, and receives commissioners from Rochelle, 292; continued self-confidence of, 293; unpopularity of, 295; orders Pareus's *Commentaries* to be burnt, 297; gives directions to alter the mode of studying divinity at Oxford, 299; requires Frederick to renounce the crown of Bohemia, *ib.*; sends Weston to Brussels, 301; fails to obtain influence over the armies in Germany, 303; approves of Frederick's journey to the Palatinate, 309; insists on Frederick's consenting to a truce, 312; objects to the proposed assembly at Ratisbon, 327; rejects a proposal made at Brussels for the sequestration of the towns in the Palatinate, 337; issues directions to preachers, 347; causes a reaction in favour of Puritanism, 349; sets free Catholic prisoners, *ib.*; liberates Coke, Phelips, and Mallory, 350; complains of the terms brought from Rome by Gage, 353; contrast between the words and actions of, 359; summons the King of Spain to obtain the restitution of Heidelberg, 371; writes to the Pope, 372; expects to obtain his objects with the aid of Spain, 373; sends fresh instructions to Bristol 374; refuses to summon Parliament, and asks the Prince of Orange to pay Mansfeld's troops, 375; refuses to allow Spanish ships to take refuge in English ports, 376; recalls Chichester, 383; accepts the articles of marriage as amended in Spain, 398; negotiates for the sequestration of Frankenthal, 399; asks Frederick to agree to the sequestration, 406; comparison between his religious and his commercial policy, 408; is acquainted with the Prince's wish to visit Spain, v. 2; consents to the journey, 3; regrets his decision, 4; gives a final permission, 5; sends Carlisle to Paris, 8; states his opinion on the Papal supremacy, 9; directs Charles and Buckingham to appear in the robes of the garter on St. George's Day, 34; sends chaplains to his son, 35; exhorts his son not to be ashamed of his religion, 36; asks Williams whether his son is likely to bring home the Infanta, 45; creates Buckingham a duke.

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